

THE STORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND

COCHRANE
PARSONS

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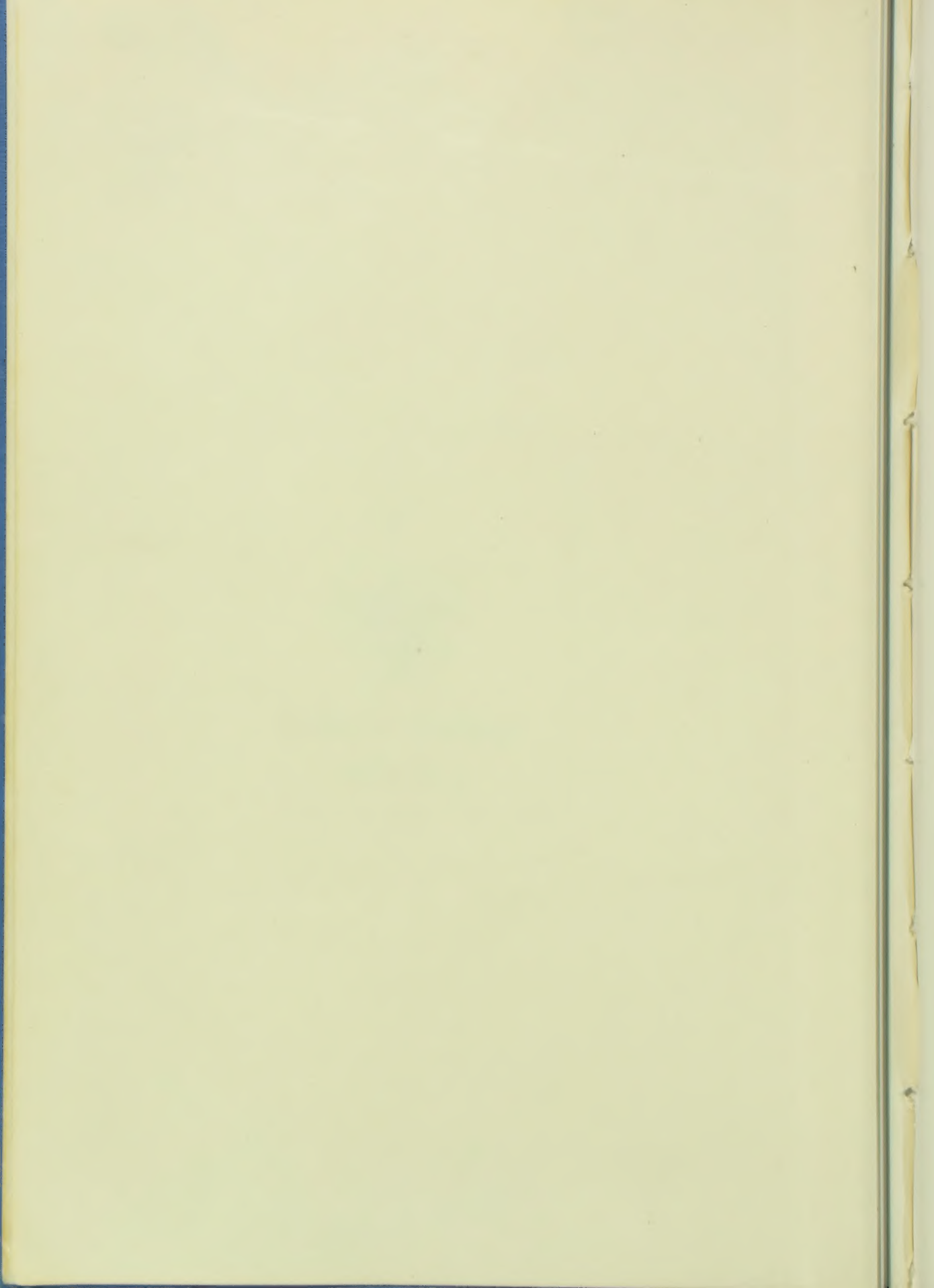
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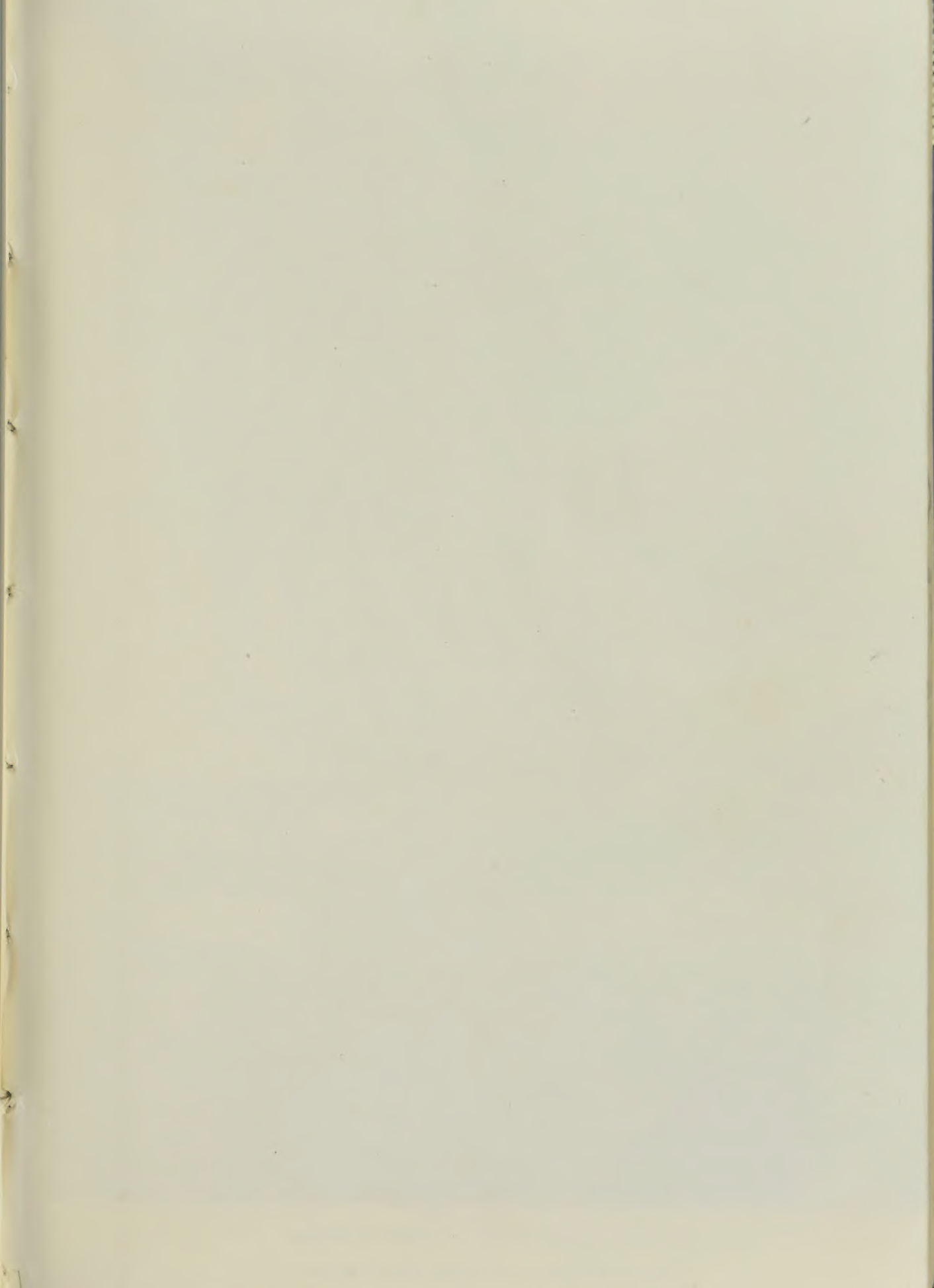
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An Eighteenth-Century English Schooner

FROM A PAINTING BY ANTON OTTO FISCHER

THE STORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND

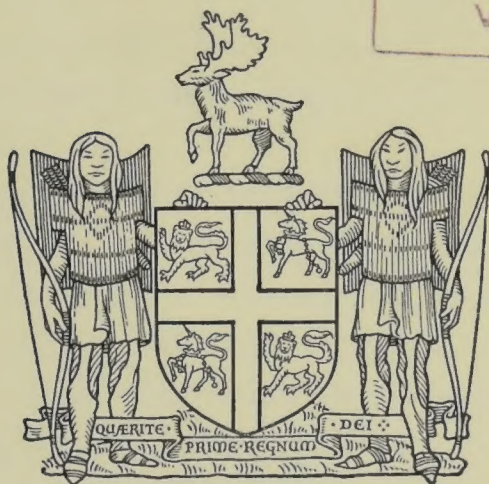
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*Authorized by the Department of Education
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To the Teacher

The form of this short history of Newfoundland differs from that of others in that the subject matter is treated topically instead of chronologically. While this plan inevitably leads to a certain amount of overlapping and repetition, it has the merit of presenting a series of continuous stories rather than a single but somewhat disjointed narrative. The danger of the plan is that the time sense may be lost, but this has been guarded against to some extent by including a time chart which, it is suggested, should be regarded as an important adjunct to the book and to which frequent reference should be made.

In revising *The Story of Newfoundland* an attempt has been made to bring certain chapters up to date and to continue the story to the present time. Two additional chapters have been written—Chapter XV: The Commission of Government and Chapter XVI: Newfoundland Joins Canada.

Special thanks are due to a number of individuals who have given helpful advice and suggestions—to the members of the Curriculum Committee, who examined the original manuscript with care; to Mr. J. R. Smallwood, who helped to obtain the illustrations on pages 44, 45, 107, 117, 133, 147, 151, 171, 201, and 247; to the members of the Social-Studies Sub-Committee, who suggested chapters requiring revision; and to Professor A. M. Fraser, who acted as consultant during this revision.

Contents

	PAGE
CHAPTER I. The Natives of Newfoundland	3
Where They Came From • John Guy • Description of the Beothucks Revenge • John Cartwright's Attempt • Another Attempt • Buchan's Famous Expedition • Mary March • The Beothucks as Kidnappers Shanawdithit	
CHAPTER II. Discovery and After	23
The Vikings • The Channel Islanders • John Cabot • Corte Real's Voyages • Sebastian Cabot • Jacques Cartier • Sir Humphrey Gilbert	
CHAPTER III. Early Attempts at Colonization	42
Early Settlers • "Sea Forest Plantation" • Captain John Mason Vaughan's Colony • Falkland's Colony • Ferryland • Sir David Kirke	
CHAPTER IV. Rough-and-Ready Justice	55
Lack of Good Government • Sir Richard Whitbourne • Star Chamber Rules • More Restrictions • The First Commission Government Restrictions Again and Defiance • Fishing Admirals • Naval Com- manders • A Local Parliament • The First Governor • The Magis- trates • The End of the Fishing Admirals' Rule • Prevention of Land Cultivation • The Magistrates Again • Sectarianism • Mutiny • A Conspiracy • Admiral Waldegrave • Restrictions Still in Force • A Change of Opinion • Restrictions Removed at Last • The First Resident Governor	
CHAPTER V. The Cod-Fishery	83
The First European Fisheries • Methods of Fishing • Laws • The Fishing Admirals • Progress • The First Settlers • More Laws • Vary- ing Success • Sir Hugh Palliser • War • The Credit System • Un- certainty of the Fishery • Recent Years	
CHAPTER VI. The Seal Hunt	106
Beginnings • Varying Success • The Introduction of Steamers • Berth Money • The Hunt • Disasters • The Return • The Luck of the Game	
CHAPTER VII. Living Conditions	120
Pioneer Days • Trouble for the Settlers • The Irish • The French A Northward Movement • Punishments • Some Improvement	

The Story of Newfoundland

PAGE

Disasters • Coal • Bishop O'Donnel • Charity • Schools • A New Era
Growth • Post Office and Newspapers • Disaster after Disaster
Better Times • Times Not So Good Again • Roads • Sir Thomas
Cochrane • "The Hanging Judge" • Representative Government
The '46 Fire • More Disasters • Conditions of Life • Responsible
Government • Progress • The '92 Fire • The Bank Crash • Recovery
Recent Years

CHAPTER VIII. The French in Newfoundland 159

Early Rivalry • Placentia • French Aspirations • The French Attack
St. John's • Destructive Raids • Help from Britain • More French
Raids • The Treaty of Utrecht • War Again • The Treaty of Paris
The Treaty of Versailles • The Last French Invasion • Newfound-
land's Magna Carta • Injustice • Lobsters • Newfoundland Protests
Bait • Extraordinary French Claims • A Settlement at Last

CHAPTER IX. Newfoundland and America 183

Trade with New England • Results of Revolution • Bermudians
Arrive • Effects of the Second American War • The Treaty of 1818
Decline of the American Fishery

CHAPTER X. Railways 196

The First Step • The First Contract • "The Battle of Foxtrap" • New
Contracts • Branch Railways • Recent Events

CHAPTER XI. Telegraphy with and without Wires 204

Transatlantic News • A Disaster • The First Attempt • Complete
Success • Wireless

CHAPTER XII. Industrial Development 212

Copper Ore • Iron Ore • Labrador's Mineral Wealth • The Buchans
Mine • Other Minerals • Paper-making • Farming • Aviation

CHAPTER XIII. Labrador 222

Early Voyages • The Name "Labrador" • Later Voyages • The
Hudson's Bay Company • The Eskimos • Sir Hugh Palliser • Captain
George Cartwright • The Moravian Brethren • Grenfell • Recent
Events

CHAPTER XIV. Self-Government 244

Self-government Suggested • Representative Government • Respon-
sible Government

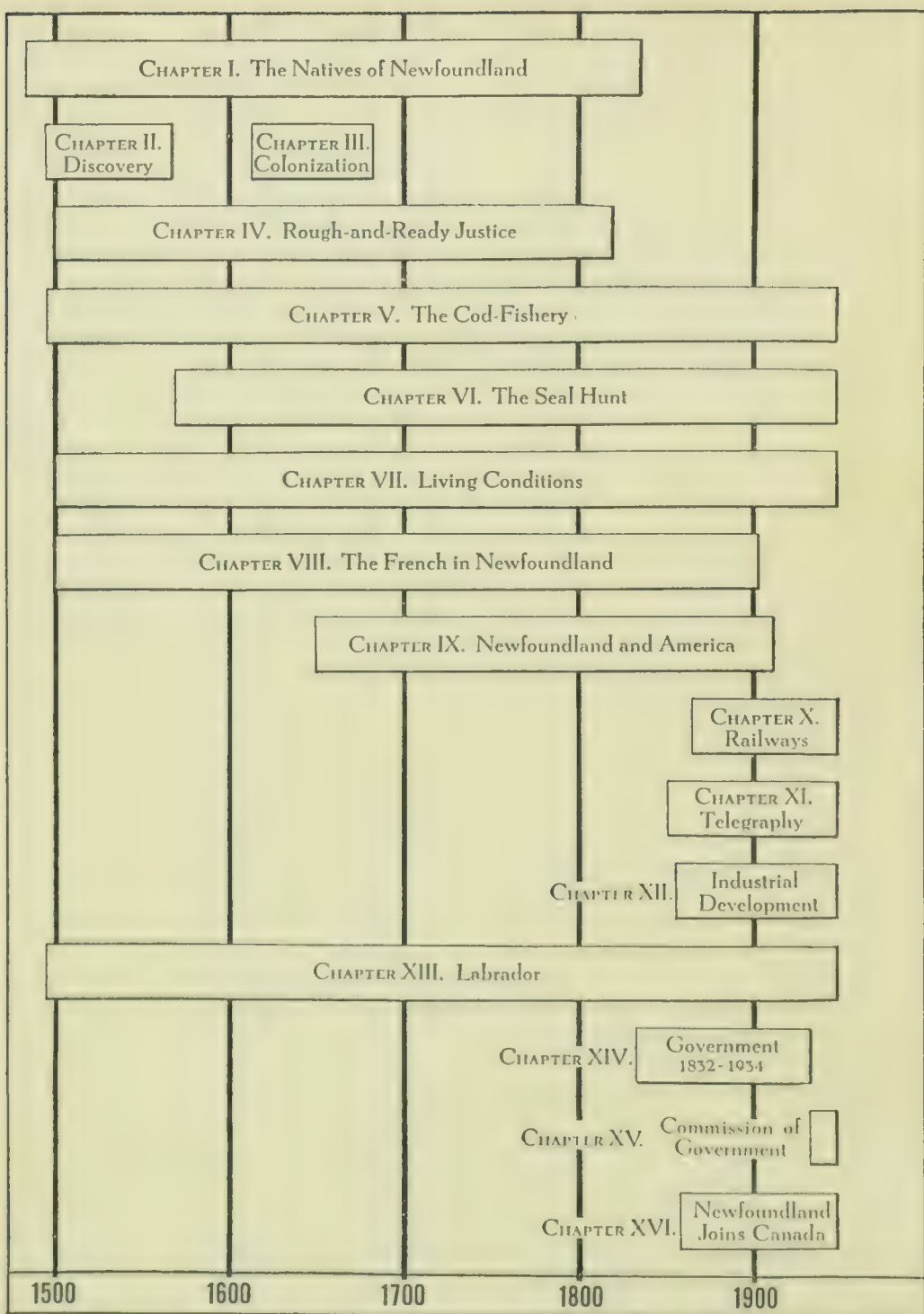
CHAPTER XV. The Commission of Government 250

The Commission of Government • Early Attempts at Improvement
Reorganization of the Fisheries • Newfoundland Fisheries Board

The Story of Newfoundland

	PAGE
Times Begin to Improve • The Second World War • The Battle of the Atlantic • The Atlantic Charter • Newfoundland's War Effort • Postwar Conditions • Government	
CHAPTER XVI. Newfoundland Joins Canada	267
The National Convention • Original Terms of Union • The First Referendum • The Second Referendum • The Ottawa Delegation Signing the Final Terms of Union • Final Terms of Union • Some Attempts to Oppose Confederation • Government of the Province of Newfoundland • The History of Confederation	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	281
INDEX.	285

THE STORY OF
NEWFOUNDLAND



Time Chart Showing the Period Covered by Each Chapter

CHAPTER ONE

The Natives of Newfoundland

Where They Came From. When Columbus discovered America in 1492, he thought that he had reached the east coast of Asia, probably India. It is for this reason that the islands lying off the coast of Central America are called the West Indies, and that the people who then inhabited the mainland were called Indians. Whether America was the original home of these Indians or whether they were incomers will probably never be known, but it is thought that they came from Asia. In time they overran the whole of North America, some of them finding their way to the far eastern part, now called Nova Scotia, and finally crossing to Newfoundland. At what period this took place we do not know. When the Norsemen visited Labrador and Newfoundland in the year 1000 A.D., they at first thought that these lands were uninhabited; but later they did come into contact with human beings, who, from the description given of them, seem to have been Eskimos. Now it is a well-known fact that the Beothucks (the native Indians) and the Eskimos were bitter enemies; indeed, all the Indian tribes seem to have had a special dislike for the Eskimos, who were at last driven northward to occupy the cold and dreary wastes of the Arctic while the Indians settled in the more habitable regions.

The fact that the Norsemen, according to their account, met Eskimos seems to indicate that the Beothucks had not

The Story of Newfoundland

at that time reached Newfoundland and, if this is true, the Indians must have crossed over from the mainland between the visits of the Norsemen and the coming of John Cabot. All that we can be quite certain about is that at the time when Newfoundland was visited by Cabot it was inhabited by a race of Red Indians, the Beothucks. Now, not one of them remains. The story of this lost tribe, almost from the time it came into contact with the white man, is one of unrelieved sadness; it has been described as "a dark page in the history of British colonization in America." On the neighbouring continent the Red Indians have thrived and, on the whole, live peaceably alongside the white invaders; but in Newfoundland the early settlers treated the natives badly, and later attempts to get on good terms with them were, as we shall see, unsuccessful.

John Guy. The first of these attempts of which there is any record was made in 1612 by John Guy, the founder of the first colony in Newfoundland. He, with thirteen men, set out from Cupids on a voyage of discovery. He sailed along the coast till he came to the head of Trinity Bay, where he found a small native settlement to which he gave the name Savage Harbour. Although there was no one to be seen, there were signs of recent occupation in the form of a curious collection of articles, including a copper kettle, a garment made of caribou skin, some seal-skins, an old sail, and a fishing reel. Since he wished to become friendly with the natives, Guy gave the order that nothing was to be taken away; but in order that the natives might know that friendly people had been there, he rearranged all the articles, and in the kettle he placed some



Beothuck Wigwam, or Mamateek

This picture was copied from an imaginative drawing based on Cartwright's narrative¹

biscuits and some beads. He then sailed a few miles off to a harbour situated on the north side of the bay.

About a week later two canoes containing eight Beothucks appeared, and after landing some distance away from Guy's ship, one of the natives, waving a flag made of wolfskin and making a loud noise, approached the ship. Guy, thinking that this was a sign that the natives wanted to parley, sent a man with a white flag to meet him. The Beothuck, now accompanied by a companion, waved his wolfskin and shouted; the Englishman waved his flag and shouted. When they were only a short distance apart, the

¹ After *The Beothucks*, by James P. Howley. Courtesy of Cambridge University Press and The Macmillan Company.

The Story of Newfoundland

Beothuck threw down his wolfskin and the Englishman threw down his flag; whereupon the two natives covered the remainder of the distance between them leaping and dancing and singing. One of them presented Guy's man with a leather chain decorated with sea shells, a knife, and a feather, and the other gave him an arrow without a head—a curious present. In exchange the natives received a cap, a towel, and a knife, after which the three joined hands and sang and danced in childish glee. Seeing the success of this parley, the other natives and the men from the ship, including Guy himself, came in ones and twos until they had all assembled. Bread, butter, raisins, and wine were exchanged for dried or smoked caribou flesh, and each of the parties immediately sampled the new food. This was probably the first picnic ever held in Newfoundland. During the picnic one of the Beothucks made what proved to be to him a very amusing discovery; he found that blowing into an empty bottle produced a most curious sound, a sound that caused the whole company to go into fits of laughter. As nightfall approached, the Beothucks took their leave, and Guy tried to tell them by means of signs that he would return the following year to engage in barter.

In this way an excellent beginning had been made, and Guy congratulated himself on the success of his peaceful expedition. Alas for his hopes! The next year, at a time when the Beothucks expected Guy to return, they were on the lookout. One day a ship appeared, and they flocked to the shore in great numbers, and with evident signs of joy prepared to give the white men a great reception. The ship, however, was not Guy's ship, and its master, not having heard of Guy's visit the year before, thought that

The Natives of Newfoundland

they had assembled to attack him. He fired a shot among them from a cannon, and they fled into the woods. They could not have known that this was not the same man who had visited them the previous year, and they must have been very perplexed and angry at his supposed treachery.

Description of the Beothucks. The Beothucks, according to Guy, were of average height. They wore caribou skins, three-quarter length, with the fur inside and a beaver skin around the neck. Some wore shoes and mittens. Their eyes were black, and their hair, which was black or brown or yellow, was worn long and was plaited at the back with feathers, one of which stuck straight up. Their bodies and their clothing were covered with a red ochre or earth. Their canoes were light but well built of pieces of birch bark sewn together and caulked with resin from trees, and they used roots for hauling their canoes ashore and tying them up. They had two kinds of oars, one about ten feet long used for rowing, and one about four feet long used as a paddle. They lived in wigwams, or mamateeks, which were really tents made by erecting a framework of poles and covering them with animal skins or birch bark. Their beds, which were merely hollows in the earth lined with branches of trees, were arranged in a circle with the fire in the middle.

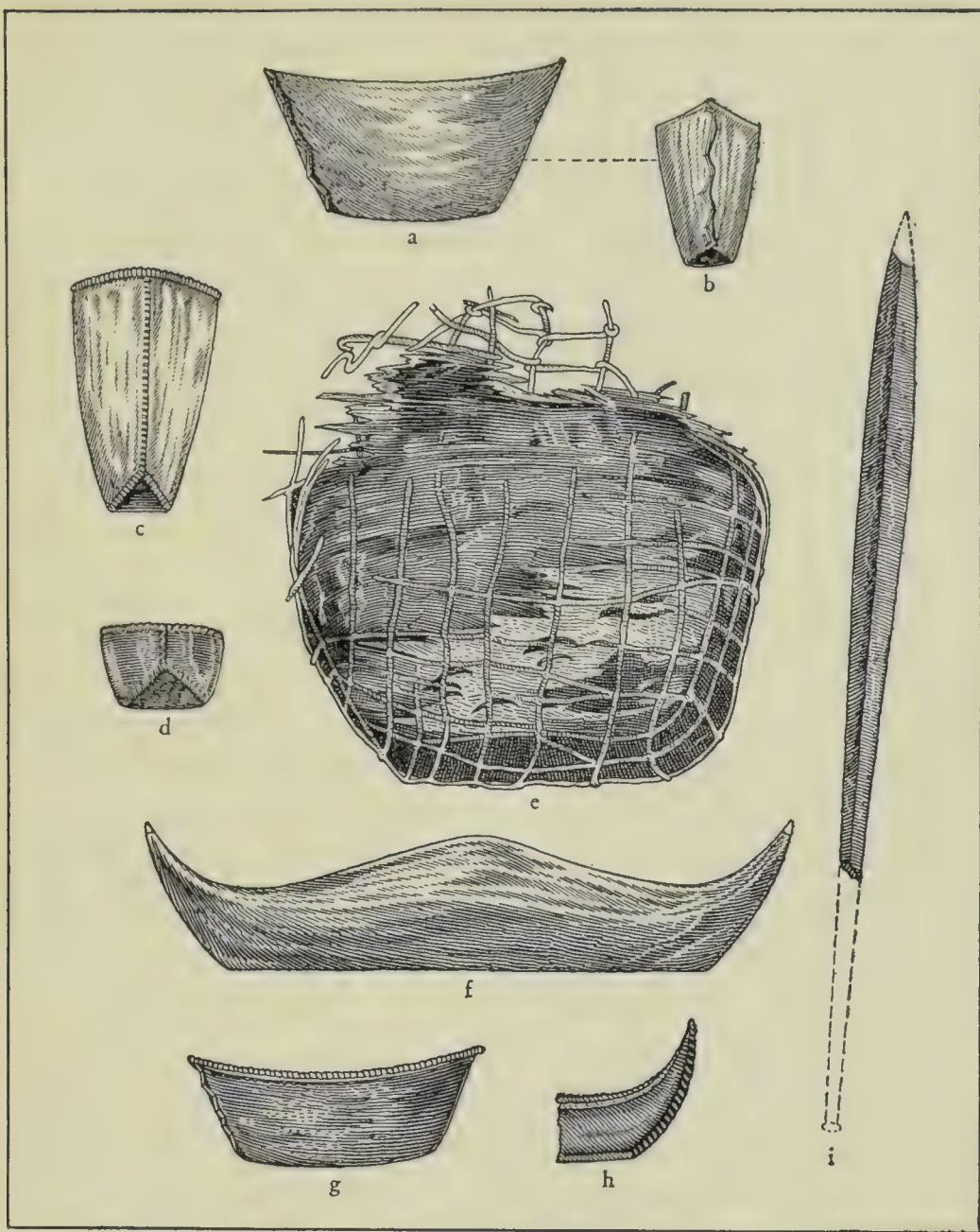
During the winter they lived in the interior, mainly in the valley of the Exploits River (the name Red Indian Lake commemorates this), and hunted caribou, foxes, bears, and otters. In the spring and summer they moved to the coast to get salmon, mussels, the eggs of seabirds, and the birds themselves. It is said that they made a kind

The Story of Newfoundland

of pudding containing eggs, seal fat, and liver, with some other ingredients, and this was kept in reserve in case of shortage of other kinds of food.

Some writers have said that the Beothucks were a savage and bloodthirsty people, but the incident related by Guy shows that, when fairly treated, they were peaceable and friendly. On some parts of the coast they helped the whalers, working hard and happily in return for very little payment, sometimes only some bread. After the unfortunate happening at Savage Harbour the Beothuck considered the white man to be his enemy, and he took every opportunity of doing him harm. This hostility usually took the form of stealing sails, lines, hatchets, knives, and similar articles; but on one occasion it took a more serious aspect. At the place now called St. Julien about eighty Beothucks attacked some French fishermen and killed sixteen of them. They stripped the dead bodies of their clothing; the next day sixteen of them, clothed in the French garments, went to a neighbouring settlement and, by reason of their disguise, surprised the fishermen there, killing twenty-one of them. According to their usual custom they carried off the heads of their victims in triumph. This incident led to the sending from France of two armed vessels to protect the fishermen.

Revenge. Encounters between the Beothucks and the settlers were frequent. The stealing of the settlers' goods was made the excuse for wholesale slaughter of the natives, who, with merely their bows and arrows (in the use of which they were experts), were no match for the fishermen with their firearms. Wherever the Beothucks appeared,



Objects Found in the Grave of a Beothuck Child

*a, b, c, d, and g, cups or bowls made of birch bark sewn together; e, a birch-bark package containing dried or smoked fish; f and h, models of canoes; i, portion of a paddle. (After *The Beothucks*, by James P. Howley. Courtesy of Cambridge University Press and The Macmillan Company)*

The Story of Newfoundland

they were brutally shot down as if they had been animals. Worse was to come. From Nova Scotia came the Micmac Indians, who quickly spread over the interior and, armed as they were with guns obtained from the French settlers on the mainland, waged war on the poor Beothucks.

The quarrel between the two Indian tribes is supposed to have had its beginning in the attack which the Beothucks made on the French at St. Julien. The French are said to have offered a reward for every Beothuck head brought to them. At first the Micmacs shot the Beothucks secretly while pretending friendship; but one day, when descending a river near St. George's Bay with some Beothuck heads hidden in their canoe, they met a party of Beothucks who invited the Micmacs to stop and feast with them. While the meal was proceeding, some Beothuck children who were playing around the canoe saw the heads and told their parents. No alarm was raised, but matters were so arranged that soon each Micmac found himself seated between two Beothucks, and at a given signal the Beothucks murdered their false friends. After this there was open warfare between the two tribes.

John Cartwright's Attempt. The persecution of the Beothucks by the European settlers continued till the middle of the eighteenth century, and it became so severe, so cruel, so heartless, that at last indignation was aroused among the more decent members of the community. Some of the early governors of the country issued proclamations ordering the fishermen to try to make friends with the natives and threatening punishment to anyone who was known to kill them. In the year 1768 an expedition in charge

The Natives of Newfoundland

of Lieutenant John Cartwright was sent up the Exploits River to look for the Beothucks and to try to befriend them; but, although they came across numbers of wigwams, they did not meet a single Indian. Judging by the number of wigwams, Cartwright estimated that the number of the natives was over five hundred.

Another Attempt. The Beothucks were very skilful at hiding themselves and at evading people who went in search of them. They were a hunted people and had that high degree of cunning which fugitives often acquire in self-defence. Many suggestions were made by interested persons as to how to get in touch with the unfortunate natives. An ingenious plan was put into operation in 1808. A picture was painted which showed "an officer of the Royal Navy in full dress shaking hands with an Indian chief and pointing to a party of seamen behind him who were laying some bales of goods at the feet of the chief. Behind the latter were some male and female Indians presenting furs to the officers. Further to the left were seen a European and an Indian mother looking with delight at their respective children of the same size who were embracing one another." This picture was to be taken to some place which was frequented by the natives and left there with some presents. The officer who was sent to carry out this scheme did not come in contact with any of the natives and had to return with his mission unfulfilled. The picture on page 13 is not a reproduction of the original, which was lost, but of one made by a local artist at the request of J. P. Howley, who was an authority on the Beothucks.

The Story of Newfoundland

Buchan's Famous Expedition. In 1810 still another effort at making friends with the Beothucks was made, an effort which was nearly successful. Lieutenant David Buchan, in command of a schooner, proceeded to Exploits Bay, but after searching all summer found no trace of the natives. He decided to winter there, and in January of the following year he organized a sledge party with plenty of food and with presents to go up the Exploits River. After ten days of hard going and intense cold the party one morning at dawn reached a Beothuck settlement, consisting of three wigwams, while the natives were still asleep. The wigwams were surrounded, a shout was raised, but there was no response. Buchan ordered his men to remove gently the skins covering the entrance to each mamateek, and when this was done the occupants were seen to be in a state of terror, which was hardly surprising. Buchan and his men tried as best they could by signs to convey to them that there was nothing to fear, and at last the Beothucks were persuaded to come out of their mamateeks. It was not long before a state of the greatest friendliness existed; white men and red men shook hands all round, Buchan pleased the women by showing little attentions to the children, the Indians examined the clothing of the visitors with the greatest interest and curiosity. They were delighted with the presents which they received. They lit a fire and made breakfast, which consisted of venison served with fat. There was an atmosphere of confidence and cheerfulness which promised well for the future relations between the two races. A good beginning had again been made.

Buchan and his men spent about three and a half hours with the Beothucks in the utmost friendliness. By signs he



Reproduction Made from a Description of the Picture Which Was Painted in 1808 to Establish Friendly Relations with the Beothucks¹

tried to make them understand that he had more presents to give them and that he would go back for them and return on the following day. Four of the Beothucks seemed to be anxious to accompany him, and to this Buchan raised no objection. On the other hand, two of Buchan's men wanted to stay behind in order to repair their snowshoes, and in view of the very friendly spirit that existed their request was granted. So Buchan, accompanied by four Beothucks, set out on a twelve-mile tramp to the place where he had left some of his baggage. He had not gone far when two of the Beothucks, for some reason, decided to return, and no effort was made to detain them. The remainder of the

¹ After *The Beothucks*, by James P. Howley. Courtesy of Cambridge University Press and The Macmillan Company.

The Story of Newfoundland

party trudged on, and they had almost reached their destination when a third Beothuck, who had evidently become alarmed at something he saw, suddenly turned and fled. Soon after this they arrived at the camp, where they were greeted by the men who had been left to guard their stores. Although the fourth Beothuck seemed to be unpleasantly surprised at seeing so many men, a few presents made him forget his fears. He accepted with evident pleasure a shirt and a pair of trousers which, with all speed and with obvious pride, he put on.

Next morning there was a strong north-easter with sleet; but, true to his promise, Buchan set out with his party. In due course they arrived at the wigwams, only to find that they were deserted and in confusion. There was no sign of the Beothucks, nor of the two marines who had been left there. Something had happened, but what? There was at the moment no means of finding out. They prepared to occupy the largest of the wigwams, mounted a guard to prevent a possible surprise, and spent the night there.

The following morning, which was again cold and stormy, Buchan, very disappointed at the outcome of his expedition, reluctantly decided to return. The Beothuck, although uneasy, had remained with them and was now given presents in the hope that he would be a messenger of peace to his friends, but he did not seem to want to go away. When the party moved off, he acted in a curious manner, running about in a zigzag direction in front of them and keeping his eyes on the ground as if following a trail. Suddenly he halted, looked at something in the snow, then took to his heels and ran off as fast as he could.

The Natives of Newfoundland

When the party reached the spot where he had acted so strangely, they were horrified to find the dead body of one of the white men who had been left the previous day; he was quite naked, his back was pierced by an arrow, and he had been beheaded. The other man was found about a hundred yards away in a similar condition.

Here indeed was a sad ending to a mission of peace. What was to be done? The first thought was naturally of revenge, but wiser counsels prevailed; any such action would lead to more hatred and bitterness. It was much better to accept the situation and to give the Beothucks the benefit of the doubt. There must have been some misunderstanding, probably caused by their inability to converse with the marines, combined with the nature of the Beothucks, who had been rendered suspicious by previous contact with the white man. It was afterward learned that they thought that Buchan really intended to bring back more men in order to take them all prisoners.

With a sore heart Buchan began his long journey back to the schooner. A thaw had set in with rain, and return was made with great unpleasantness and under great difficulties. Probably as a result of the bad weather and poor walking conditions, some of the men had swollen legs (which, by the way, they rubbed with rum and pork fat); but at last, tired and disheartened, they reached the ship after having been away for eighteen days. So ended this unhappy episode which began in such a promising manner.

Mary March. The next incident of note took place in 1819. A certain John Peyton of Twillingate, while engaged in the salmon fishery and the fur trade, was greatly

The Story of Newfoundland

troubled by a number of thefts of knives, axes, traps, hooks, lines, ropes, canvas, and such articles. He was very patient under this provocation; but when the Beothucks stole a large boat loaded with salmon and furs, clothing and bedding, guns and ammunition, he naturally thought that something would have to be done to put a stop to these losses. He went to St. John's to complain, and the Governor gave him authority to search for the stolen goods and, if possible, to capture one of the Beothucks alive.

In the month of March he set off up the Exploits River and came across some mamateeks on the shores of Red Indian Lake. The Beothucks fled at his approach, but Peyton gave chase and soon overtook one of them who lagged behind the others and who turned out to be a woman. To prove that he was friendly, he threw down his gun and tried to show by signs that he did not mean any harm. Meanwhile one of the Beothucks, who, as was discovered later, was her husband, seeing what had happened rushed back waving an axe. He would have killed Peyton with the axe but for Peyton's men, who had by this time overtaken him. The Beothuck proved to be troublesome and obstinate and was unfortunately killed by one of the party. Peyton returned to the mamateeks, taking the Beothuck woman with him, and found there some of the stolen articles.

The woman's name was Desmaduit or Waunatoake, but she was given the name Mary March (because she was captured in the month of March). She was taken to Twillingate, was cared for there by a missionary, and afterward spent some months in St. John's, where she was treated with every kindness. She seemed to be quite happy and contented; but if the good impression she had obtained of

The Natives of Newfoundland



*Captain David Buchan*¹

*John Peyton of Twillingate*¹

the white people was to do any good, she had to be returned to her friends. Buchan, now a captain, was chosen to carry out this plan. He arrived at Ship Cove (now Botwood) and, while waiting for the river to freeze, again experienced the bad luck which had dogged the steps of those who were anxious to befriend the poor Beothucks, for Mary March died on board the ship. Hopes had been high that she would act as a go-between, but it was not to be; it was most disheartening.

It was decided to place the body in a coffin and carry it up the river, and to take some presents in case they should come across any of the natives. They reached the place where Mary March had been captured the previous year, but the mamateeks were untenanted and looked as if they had not been occupied for some time. Through the roof

¹ From *The Beothucks*, by James P. Howley. Courtesy of Cambridge University Press and The Macmillan Company.

The Story of Newfoundland

of one of them two poles were stuck to which the coffin was firmly lashed in such a way that it was beyond the reach of wild animals. It was learned some years later that the Beothucks opened the coffin and buried Desmaduit.

The Beothucks as Kidnappers. According to a traditional story, kidnapping was not altogether a one-sided affair. It is said that some Carbonear fishermen who went to Trinity Bay every year to fish met some Indians in a canoe. All the Beothucks escaped except one young girl who was ill. They took her home to Carbonear; but while the men were absent fishing, the Indians raided the place and not only recaptured the girl but carried off three white women as well. These women, dressed in deerskins, were returned the following spring unharmed and said that they had been well treated.

On another occasion, this time in Exploits Bay, while some fishermen were building a schooner, they were annoyed by someone throwing snowballs at them from behind a high bank. At first they paid no attention, thinking that it was a friendly prank, till at last they became so annoyed that one of the men climbed the bank to investigate. He stayed away so long that the others went to see what had happened to him, but he was nowhere to be found. They found footprints undoubtedly made by Indians, and there were signs of a struggle.

About a year later some of the same men while rowing along the shore were surprised to see a man rush out of the woods, jump into the water, and swim toward them. Although the man was dressed in deerskins and smeared with red ochre, they recognized him as their lost friend and

The Natives of Newfoundland



*Mary March*¹

*Shanawdithit*²

took him on board. Meanwhile a number of Beothucks appeared on the beach in pursuit, one of them being a woman who, holding a baby high in her arms, waded out in the water and called on the man to come back. It appeared that, when the man had climbed over the bank, he had been bound and gagged and taken into the interior. Every kindness had been shown to him, and he had married one of the women who had taken a fancy to him.

Shanawdithit. The next and the last of the series of sad incidents had some very pleasant features. The story begins in 1823 when two hunters in the neighbourhood of Twillingate one day saw a Beothuck coming toward them with a large club in his hand. Thinking that he meant

¹From *Kaleidoscope Echoes*, by Philip Tocque. Courtesy of the Hunter-Rose Company, Ltd.

²From *The Beothucks*, by James P. Howley. Courtesy of Cambridge University Press and The Macmillan Company.

The Story of Newfoundland

mischief, one of the men fired and killed him. On the way home they came across a wigwam which proved to contain three Beothuck women who were starving and in an exhausted condition. They were a mother and two daughters. The husband ran off at the approach of the hunters and, in crossing a creek, fell through the ice and was drowned. The women were taken to St. John's and were shown every kindness. They were given a room and were provided with beds, which, however, they did not use, preferring to sleep on their deerskins laid on the floor in a corner of the room. Though one of the daughters was ill, she refused to take any medicine. The other daughter was about twenty-two years of age, tall and of bright disposition, intelligent and affectionate. The ticking of a watch amused her, a mirror gave her pleasure; but when she was provided with pencil and paper she went into raptures and, after a few trial strokes, drew a good likeness of a caribou. Later on her talent for drawing proved to be useful in conveying information about the life of the Beothucks. Her name was Shanawdithit, but later she was usually called Nancy.

After spending a few weeks in St. John's, the three women were taken back to Exploits laden with presents for their friends. They were carried some distance up the river and landed on the bank with a supply of food; but after wandering about for some time and failing to find the tribe, they made their way back to an English settlement, where the mother and one daughter soon afterward died. Nancy was taken care of by John Peyton, Junior, and lived in his house in Exploits for five years, helping with the housework but free to come and go as she liked. On

The Natives of Newfoundland

the whole she appeared to be happy ; but occasionally she became sulky or melancholy, at which times she would go into the woods and stay away for several days, coming back of her own accord and in good spirits. She was expert at carving various articles out of caribou horn, and sometimes she made quite elaborate patterns.

In 1827 W. E. Cormack, who was the first man to complete a journey through the interior of Newfoundland, was the moving spirit in forming a Beothuck Institute in St. John's. The object of the Institute was to get into communication with the Beothucks and to try to civilize them, and the first task it undertook was to care for Shanawdithit. She was brought once more to St. John's and lived in Cormack's house for some months. She had acquired a certain amount of broken English, and this, combined with her talent for drawing, enabled Cormack to learn much about the habits and customs of the natives. She had been present when Lieutenant Buchan encountered the Beothucks in 1811, and she said that they had suspected that he had gone for more men to take them all prisoners, and that the appearance of the natives who had run away from Buchan's party seemed to confirm this. To avoid being followed they had killed the two Englishmen who had been left with them. She had also been present when Mary March was kidnapped and when her remains were left at the wigwam. She gave information regarding the numbers of the Beothucks, and, according to her, there were only thirteen left in 1823.

In the spring of 1829 Shanawdithit became ill with that dread disease consumption, which seems to have been prevalent among the tribe. She was taken to the hospital,

The Story of Newfoundland

but in spite of all possible care and attention by a physician, Dr. Carson, she died on the sixth of June. She was probably the last of her race, and so closes one of the saddest chapters in the history of British colonization.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Give some evidence that the Beothucks were really a peaceful people.
2. Why did the Beothucks sometimes appear to be so cruel and treacherous?
3. Tell in your own words the story of Buchan's expedition up the Exploits River.
4. Describe the dress of the Beothucks and also their wigwams, or mamateeks.
5. Suppose that Mary March had not died when she did but had returned to the tribe, and write an imaginary account of her meeting with her friends.
6. Tell the story of Shanawdithit.

CHAPTER TWO

Discovery and After

The Vikings. Nearly a thousand years ago the island of Iceland was a colony of Norway and was inhabited by Norsemen. About the year 986 Eric the Red, one of the prominent men in Iceland, was involved in a quarrel which resulted in the death of two sons of a noble family. For this Eric was banished. In a spirit of adventure, for which the Norsemen were famous, he decided to sail westward in the hope of finding land on which to settle. He was rewarded by the discovery of a country to which he gave the name it now bears, Greenland, and in course of time a considerable colony sprang up there which lasted till the beginning of the fifteenth century.

About the year 999 the son of Eric, who was called Leif Ericson or Leif the Lucky, visited Norway. The following year he set out on the return journey to Greenland, but he was driven out of his course by storms and came to land where vines and corn grew wild. He finally reached Greenland by sailing in a north-easterly direction. The story of the existence of land to the south-west of Greenland aroused great interest among Leif's friends, and the following year his brother, Thorstein, set out to learn more about it. Continual storms, however, tossed his little ship hither and thither, preventing him from laying a proper course, and he had to return worn out by the severity of the weather.

The Story of Newfoundland

Thorstein died the following winter, and his widow married Karlsefni, who set sail with two ships and one hundred and sixty men to make another attempt. After several days he sighted land to which he gave the name *Helluland*, meaning "the land of flat stones." There is little doubt that this was the land we now call Labrador. Two days later he came to a land "and upon it was a great wood and many wild beasts, and the land where the wood was they called *Markland*" (meaning "forest land"). This was in all probability Newfoundland. Continuing his voyage, he reached a country which he called *Vinland* ("vine land").¹ The exact location of this country is doubtful; some think it was the coast of Maine. Karlsefni intended to make a permanent settlement in Vinland and actually remained there for several years, but the appearance of the natives of the country and their fierce attacks on the Norsemen caused him to change his plans and return to Greenland.

For centuries after this, history is silent about these lands in the west; the discoveries of the Norsemen were forgotten.

The Channel Islanders. In the English Channel, which separates England from Europe, there lies a group of islands, formerly known as the Norman Islands but now called the Channel Islands, the chief of which are Jersey and Guernsey. As early as the thirteenth century fishermen from these islands visited Iceland regularly in search of fish, and there is a tradition that one spring in the latter

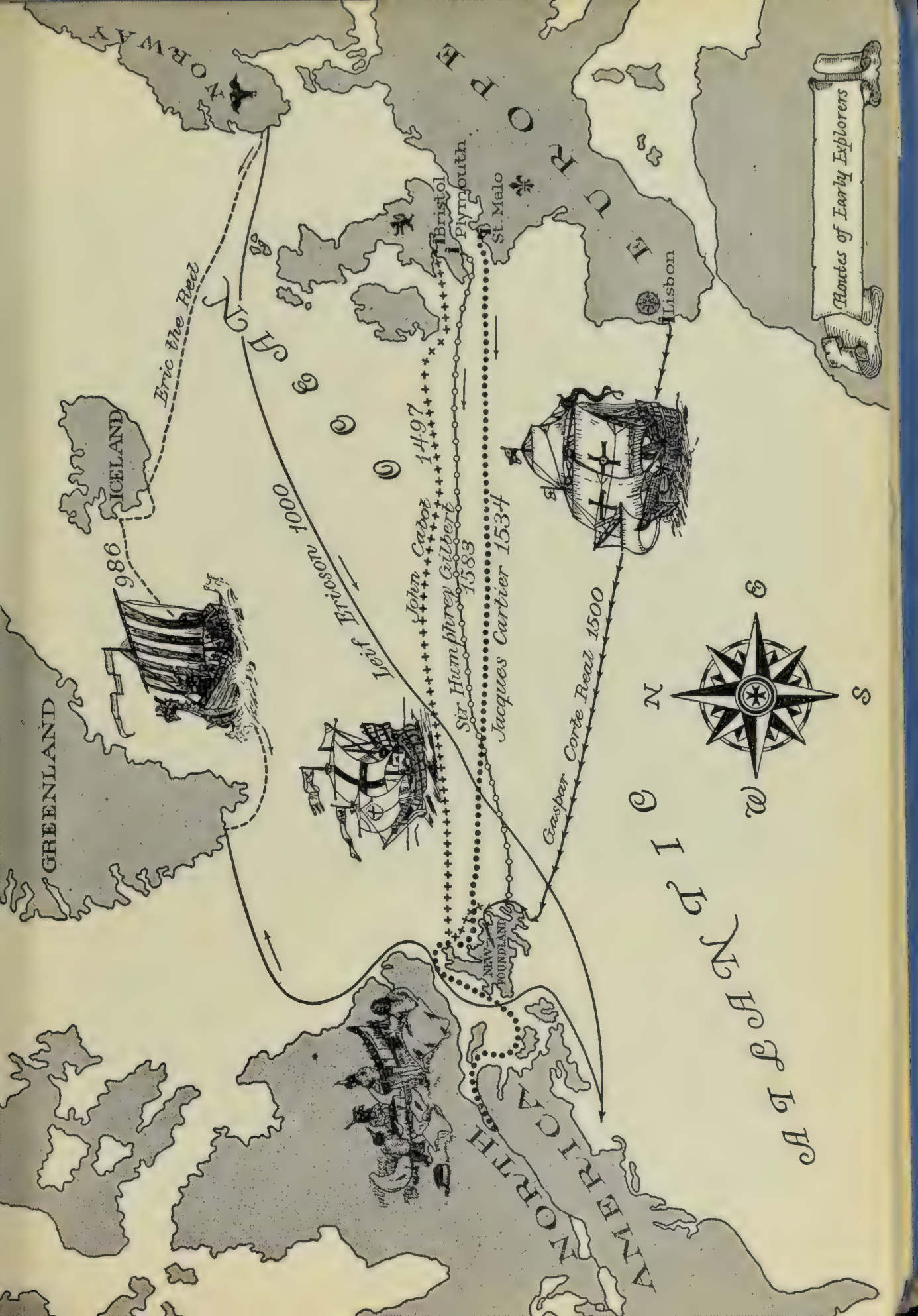
¹The picture on the opposite page shows Leif Ericson landing on the coast of Vinland.



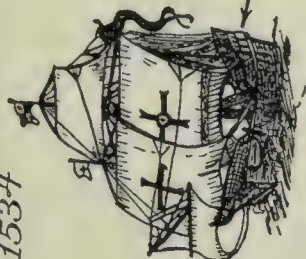


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Viking Ships



Routes of Early Explorers



ICELAND

GREENLAND

986

1000

1497

1583

1534

1500

Eric the Red

Leif Ericson

John Cabot

Sir Humphrey Gilbert

Jacques Cartier

Gaspar Corte Real

Bristol

Plymouth

St. Malo

Lisbon

AMERICA

ATLANTIC

EUROPE

NORWAY

The Story of Newfoundland

half of the fifteenth century some Jersey men who were on their way to Iceland and were nearing their destination encountered a gale which drove them in a south-west direction for many days till they came to a land whose waters teemed with cod-fish. They loaded their vessels there and returned to Jersey. Whether or not this story is true, it is certain that the Channel Island fishermen were among the first to visit Newfoundland.

John Cabot. We are on more certain ground when we come to the story of John Cabot, although even here many details are in doubt because the story of his famous voyage was not written at the time. John Cabot was a native of Genoa in Italy. He became a citizen of Venice, but later emigrated to England, taking up his residence in Bristol. Some of the Jersey settlers in Newfoundland used to say that it was from the Jersey fishermen who visited Bristol that Cabot learned of the western lands which they had discovered. Be that as it may, Cabot obtained from King Henry VII a charter which permitted him to fit out an expedition at his own cost to look for new lands. The King, although contributing nothing, demanded a fifth part of the profits.

John Cabot left Bristol on May 2, 1497, in a little ship called the *Matthew* with a crew of eighteen men. He rounded the south coast of Ireland, steered a northerly course for several days, and then struck boldly westward "with the Pole Star on his right hand." Even though Columbus had shown that there was land away to the west, it must have been with some anxiety that Cabot continued to sail day after day over uncharted and stormy seas in a



John Cabot Leaving Bristol, May 2, 1497, on His Voyage of Discovery

ship not any larger than a small modern fishing schooner. Every day the lookout scanned the horizon for signs of land, but for more than seven weeks there was nothing to be seen but water. Cabot's faith and that of his men must have been severely tested, but at last the cry went up "Land." On St. John the Baptist's Day, June 24,

The Story of Newfoundland

he set foot in a new country, in what is now known as the province of Newfoundland.

Early in August he arrived back in Bristol, and the King gave £10 "to hym that found the New Isle." Of this memorable voyage this is about all that can be said with certainty. Following as it did five years after that famous voyage of Columbus, it did not bring to the explorer the glory and recognition that Columbus gained, but nevertheless it was a daring exploit to brave the stormy North Atlantic in a frail bark. When he returned to Bristol, he enjoyed at least local fame; we are told that "the people ran after him like mad," and that he was called "the great Admiral."

The following year he fitted out another expedition, consisting this time of four or five ships. He sailed in the spring, but one ship was driven on the coast of Ireland, and curiously enough that is all we really know of this voyage. It is also the last we hear of John Cabot; not even his death is recorded.

At what point on the coast of what we now call North America did John Cabot land? We do not know, and probably we shall never know. It may have been some part of the Labrador coast, it may have been Bonavista, or it may have been Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, but it is most reasonable to suppose that his landfall (landing place) was Bonavista. It used to be thought that St. John's was his landfall and that the name was given to the place because he made land on St. John's Day. While that is not impossible, it is now considered unlikely.

St. John's may have been named after St. John's Bay in Jersey near which there are places called Petit Port



John Cabot in the Matthew, off the Coast of Newfoundland in 1497¹

and Bouley Bay. Do these three Jersey places correspond to St. John's, Petty Harbour, and Bay Bulls in Newfoundland? It seems quite probable. Other places that may have been named by the Channel Islanders are St. Mary's, Trinity, St. Lawrence, Conche, Croque. There is also the Jersey side of Placentia. Carbonear used to be Charbonnier from the French *charbon* (charcoal), because the Jersey men are said to have had charcoal pits there.

¹ Copy of a painting from the calendar for 1935 of Moffats Ltd., Weston, Canada, and Blackburn, England.

The Story of Newfoundland

Four hundred years after Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland, Cabot Tower was erected on Signal Hill in commemoration of the event. The cornerstone was laid by Bishop Howley, and the Tower was opened in 1900. The year 1897 was also the year of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, and the Tower commemorates this event as well. At the same time a similar tower was built in Bristol.

Corte Real's Voyages. For a long time all the north-east coast of what we now call America was known as "New Lands" or "Terre Neuve," and to the New Lands in the wake of Columbus and Cabot there followed many adventurers whose names are not recorded in the pages of history. In those days Spain and Portugal were great rivals, and when the success of Columbus brought such a great addition to the domains of Spain, the King of Portugal, looking for some similar additions, sent an expedition of discovery to the westward. In command of this expedition was Gaspar Corte Real. He set sail in the spring of 1500 and sighted land, but was unable to reach it because of great icebergs and ice floes. This was undoubtedly Labrador. The following year he went again, this time taking three ships and keeping farther to the south, and he sighted Newfoundland, probably Notre Dame Bay. He ascended one of the rivers, probably the Exploits, and was pleased to see large pine trees on its banks and salmon and other fish in the water, as well as stags and other wild animals roaming the woods. But that which interested him more than the wealth of sea and forest was the inhabitants of the island. These, of course, were the Beothucks, whose

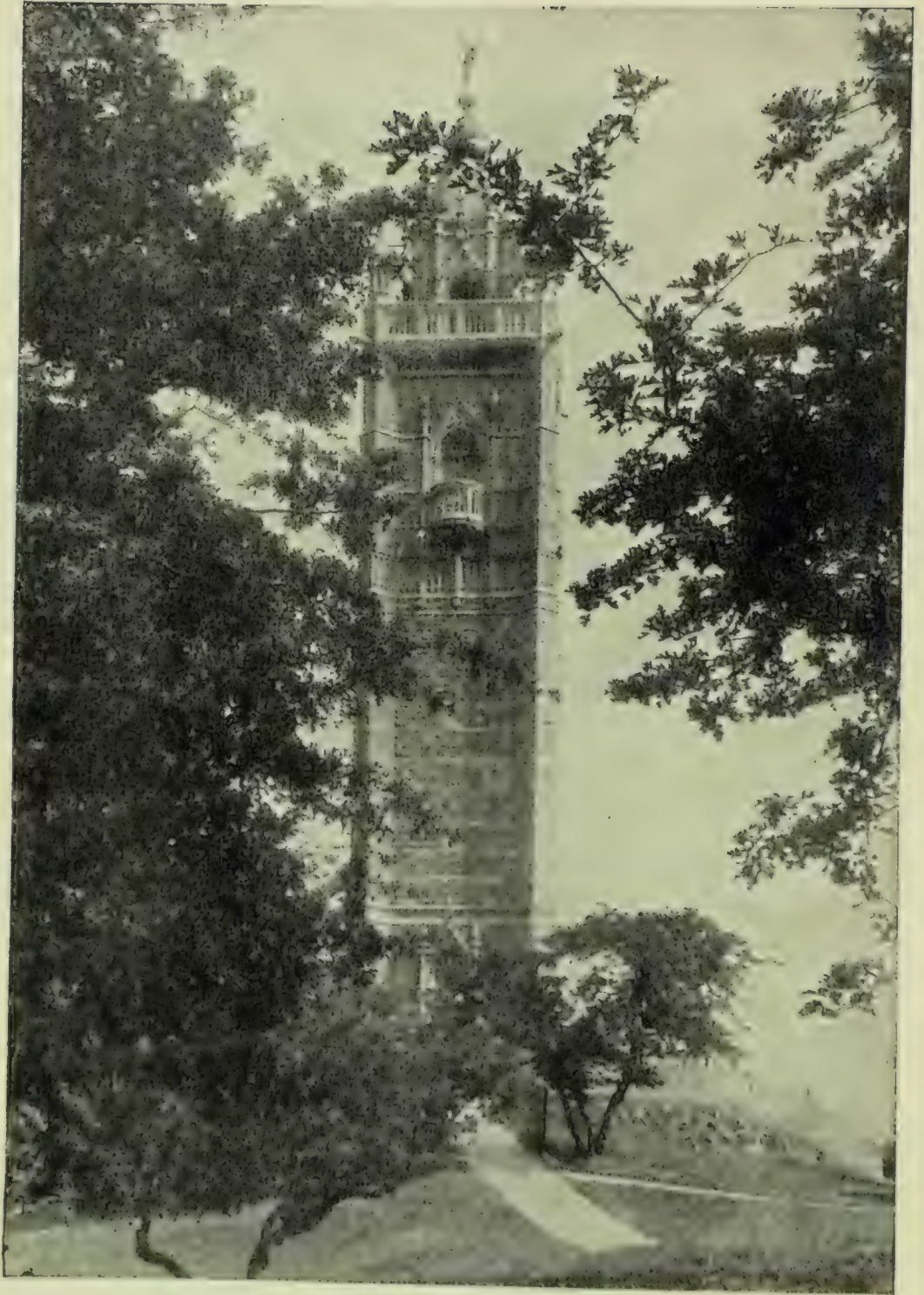


Queen's Fort and Cabot Tower on Signal Hill, St. John's¹

chief haunts were on the banks of the Exploits River. Here was an unexpected source of profit, for these people could be sold as slaves. He captured fifty-seven men, women, and children and took them back to Portugal. Two of Corte Real's ships returned safely to Portugal, but the ship which he himself commanded was never heard of again.

Two years later Gaspar's brother Miguel was sent by the King to look for his brother. On reaching land the three ships which composed the expedition separated, after agreeing to meet at a certain place and time. Two of them arrived at the appointed place, but that commanded by

¹The Holloway Studio, Ltd.



*Cabot Tower, Bristol, England*¹

¹W. F. Taylor.

Discovery and After

Miguel Corte Real did not. Tradition says that he was lost in the Straits of Belle Isle. About this time, or possibly later, the Portuguese began to call the new land *Baccalaos* ("the land of the cod"), as a relic of which there is still Baccalieu Island situated off Bay de Verde. It was Corte Real who named Conception Bay and Portugal Cove.

Sebastian Cabot. It is probable that John Cabot's son, Sebastian, accompanied his father on at least one of his voyages to Newfoundland. He himself, now in command, made another in 1508. Arriving at the New Lands, he sailed north as far as Hudson Strait, then southward to Florida. It was probably on this voyage that Sebastian Cabot captured three Eskimos and took them with him to England, where they lived for some years. Unfortunately he was a very boastful man, and at times he tampered with the truth so as to try to bring glory to himself. He claimed that he, and not his father, had discovered Newfoundland, but he is now known in his true colours.



*Sebastian Cabot*¹

¹New York Historical Society.

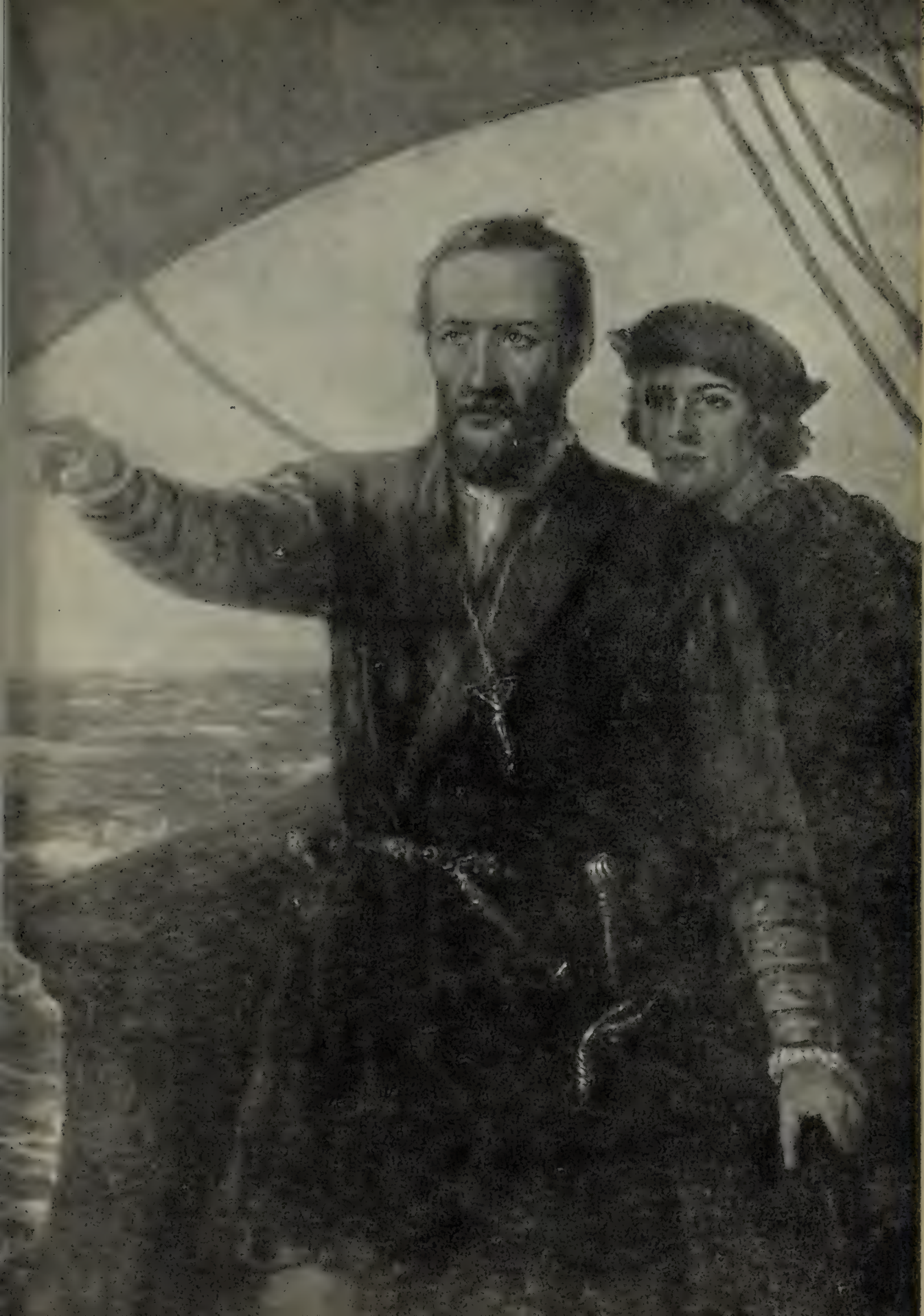
The Story of Newfoundland

Jacques Cartier. The voyages of John Cabot had given to England by right of discovery all the coast of North America, but in 1534 another voyage was made which was destined to have far-reaching consequences. In that year the Frenchman Jacques Cartier explored the St. Lawrence River as far as the place now called Quebec and was the first to give a fairly accurate idea of the outline of the North American coast. His voyages (he made three in all) gave to France her first settlements in Canada and led to important results over two centuries later.¹

This concluded the voyages of discovery as far as Newfoundland was concerned. No attempt was made to colonize any of the newly discovered lands, but every year fishermen from the countries of western Europe frequented the shores of Newfoundland during the summer and used its harbours and coves for curing their fish, returning home with the season's catch when winter approached.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The next expedition of any consequence that came to Newfoundland was in 1578, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, famous in British history, set sail from England with two ships with the object of destroying the French, Spanish, and Portuguese fishing fleets because, it was said, these fleets were the training grounds for the navies of their countries. The intention was to capture as many as possible and to burn the remainder. The expedition was a complete failure. Gilbert lost one of his ships in a fight with

¹The picture on the opposite page shows the discovery of the St. Lawrence River by Jacques Cartier. (From a mural painting, copyright by Haskell Coffin, in the New York Telephone Company Building, Ogdensburg, New York.)



The Story of Newfoundland

the Spaniards and returned to England. Although keen and enthusiastic, he had not the qualities of his half-brother for a task of this kind.

His ardour was not altogether extinguished by this failure, for five years later we find that he had fitted out another expedition, this time on a more elaborate scale. By selling a large part of his estate and by enlisting the help of Raleigh, he had fitted out five ships and manned them with two hundred and fifty men. The crews were a curious set of men for the task in hand. They included men of various trades and stations, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, musicians, and even ex-convicts, not the kind of stuff of which seamen are made.

On August 3, 1583, Gilbert arrived at St. John's with only four ships, one of the original five having deserted and taken to piracy—a practice which was very prevalent and very profitable in those times. At first the English merchants who were in control of the harbour refused to admit a mere adventurer; but when Gilbert showed them his authority given him by Queen Elizabeth herself, they not only allowed him to enter, but also submitted to his orders. Gilbert's first orders were for food, for the long voyage had left them very short of supplies. The merchants, including some Portuguese, willingly contributed cod-fish; salmon, trout, and lobster, as well as wines, biscuits, marmalade, and other delicacies. It was the custom in those days to appoint a new admiral for the port each week, and each week there was a feast to celebrate the new appointment. Gilbert and his captains were entertained at these feasts while they were in St. John's harbour, and in this and other ways they were treated very hospitably.



Sir Humphrey Gilbert Reading His Commission at St. John's¹

On August 5 Gilbert had a tent erected at the place where the War Memorial now stands, and which at that time was visible from the harbour, where between thirty and forty ships were at anchor. At an appointed time he proceeded to this tent, where also assembled all his officers, all the masters of the fishing fleet, foreigners as well as Englishmen, and many fishermen. He then read to the company his commission from the Queen whereby he was given certain privileges. After the proclamation was read,

¹After Hatton and Harvey, *Newfoundland*.

The Story of Newfoundland

a turf was dug up, and this along with a twig was presented to Sir Humphrey as a sign that the country was now in possession of England. It had really been an English colony before this, but this ceremony was considered necessary in order to make sure of it, since so many men of other nations were using its waters and its harbours.

The first laws ever enacted in the colony were given that same day. The first made the Church of England the official church in the island; the second described as high treason any action which infringed the Queen's rights; the third said that anyone speaking disrespectfully of the Queen would lose his goods—and his ears. There was no opposition to these laws, and they were in force from that moment. The ceremony was completed by setting up a wooden pillar with the Queen's arms engraved on it.

Gilbert spent nearly a month in St. John's, then proceeded southward with the intention of repeating in other places what he had just done in Newfoundland. Alas! ill fortune overcame the little fleet. First of all, a storm arose in which the largest of the ships was lost; then disease broke out and one of the ships had to be sent home with all those who were ill. The men became discontented, little acts of sullenness and disobedience led ultimately to a mutiny, and there was nothing else to do but to turn and go home. The Admiral's flag had been transferred to the smallest of the ships, the *Squirrel*, a cockleshell of only ten tons, and in this, accompanied by the *Golden Hind*, a vessel of fifty tons, Gilbert sorrowfully sailed eastward. All went well till the two ships, which had kept close to each other, were near the Azores, when a severe storm arose. The *Golden Hind* succeeded in weathering the storm, but the

Discovery and After

Squirrel went down. The last view of it, according to a traditional story, revealed Sir Humphrey Gilbert calmly sitting on the reeling deck reading a book but interrupting himself to shout to his men: "Cheer up, boys; we are as near to heaven by sea as by land."

Thus ended this ill-fated expedition. It was not followed up. The colony went on as before; European fishermen came every spring and left (at least most of them did) every autumn, but no real effort was made to colonize the island. The expedition succeeded, however, to the extent that the important part of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's mission had been accomplished. By royal decree, Newfoundland was formally proclaimed to belong to England, and was recognized as the first colonial possession of the Crown. This is why Newfoundland has often been called "Britain's oldest colony."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who were the first discoverers of Newfoundland? Tell what you know of their visits.
2. Tell the traditional story of the early visits of the Channel Island fishermen to Newfoundland.
3. Write an imaginary story of John Cabot's voyage to Newfoundland and of his landing at Bonavista.
4. What was the reason for Gaspar Corte Real's voyage to Newfoundland?
5. Find out, if you can, more about Cartier's discoveries, and write a short account of them.
6. Tell the story of Gilbert's second voyage to Newfoundland.

CHAPTER THREE

Early Attempts at Colonization

Early Settlers. No one can say definitely when settlement began in Newfoundland. It is said that in 1522, only twenty-five years after Cabot's first voyage to these shores, there were forty or fifty houses. All that can be said with certainty is that at some early date when the fishing fleet returned to England a few crews were left behind to cut timber during the winter for building boats, stages, wharves, and cook-rooms. It must have been a real adventure to spend a winter on this lonely island in those days, but with plenty of timber close at hand and with an abundance of game for food the crews probably fared very well. Such people who began simply as winter crews became the first permanent settlers. Newfoundland, therefore, was colonized not by aristocrats like Gilbert but by humble fishermen from the west of England. Probably the manual skill of the present-day Newfoundlander has been handed down from generation to generation from these pioneers who had to build their own boats, houses, and fishing premises, as well as cultivate their gardens, rear cattle and swine, and go fishing. To the original settlers also we probably owe the fact that our lakes are nearly all called "ponds," as they are in Devonshire, and that the willow grouse, which is so plentiful, is called "partridge" because of its resemblance to the partridge of the south-western counties of England.

Early Attempts at Colonization

"Sea Forest Plantation." Gilbert's expedition, which ended so disastrously, was followed by the colonization of America by the British and Lower Canada by the French, but in the early part of the seventeenth century some eyes were again turned toward Newfoundland. A company was formed in England which included Sir Francis Bacon, a close friend of James I of England and VI of Scotland, and it was in all likelihood because of Bacon's request to the King that a grant was given to enable the company to equip an expedition to go to Newfoundland. The man who planned the whole scheme was John Guy, a merchant and alderman of Bristol, who in 1610, with three ships and forty-one people, sailed from Bristol. He carried with him a charter from the King granting him all the territory between Cape St. Mary's and Cape Bonavista together with the seas and islands lying within ten miles of the coast. He was given definite instructions about the purchase of fish and of cod oil, about the cutting of timber for export, about experimenting with sheep-raising, and about his conduct toward the Beothucks.

He was fortunate in having a fine crossing and reached Newfoundland in only twenty-three days. Guy chose for the site of his settlement the land-locked harbour of Cuper's Cove, now called Cupids. There he established "Sea Forest Plantation," as he called it. He built wharves, stores, houses, a boat, and a fort mounted with three guns. A few men were sent to South River, Clarke's Beach, to clear land preparatory to establishing a farm. This was done successfully, and goats, swine, cows, and poultry thrived. In the spring, grain was sown. The new colony under Guy's able direction had made a good start and had

The Story of Newfoundland



Stamps of the Gilbert Issue Which Appeared in 1933 on the Three-hundred-and-fiftieth Anniversary of the Annexation of Newfoundland by Sir Humphrey Gilbert

every prospect of success. Unfortunately trouble arose. The merchants of the south-western counties of England, who had been accustomed to regard Newfoundland as their own property, resented the intrusion of this man with his ideas about a permanent settlement and with his attempt to enforce laws for the whole island. They made up their minds that they must get rid of these "planters," as the colonists came to be called. Guy, however, with great tact and firmness managed to keep the peace.

After spending a winter in England, Guy returned in 1612 bringing with him more men and more horses, cattle,

Early Attempts at Colonization



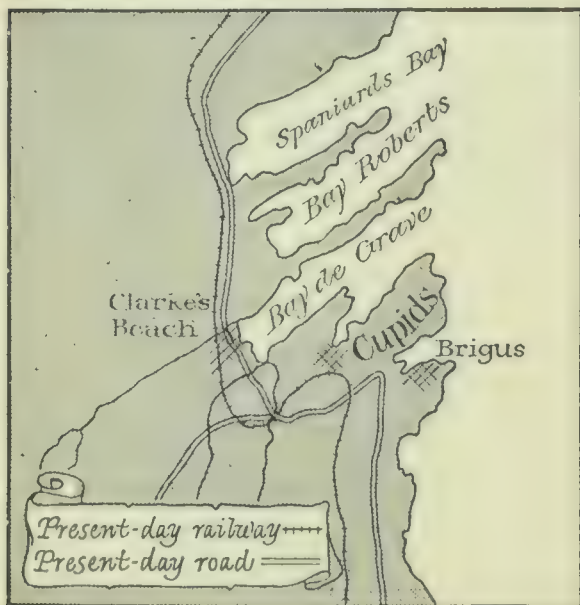
Stamps of the Guy Issue Which Appeared in 1910 on the Occasion of the Three-hundredth Anniversary of the Attempted Settlement of Newfoundland by John Guy

pigs, poultry, and farming implements. With him also came a clergyman, the first to be permanently settled in the island. This year he had a new enemy to contend with. In those days pirates were very active on the coast, and Guy lost a number of men and a quantity of goods. There was a famous pirate, called Peter Easton, who had headquarters at Ferryland and who commanded ten vessels. He was the terror of the coast, and many a capture he made. Captain Richard Whitbourne, who was sent to the country in 1615 to try to restore some kind of order and to hold courts of justice, was himself captured by Easton and detained for eleven days.

The Story of Newfoundland

The following year Guy returned to England leaving the colony to sink or swim. Without the authority to en-

force law and order, he probably felt that there was no hope of success. So ended the first attempt to colonize Newfoundland.



Cupids and District

Captain John Mason.

Two years later, however, another effort was made. Captain John Mason, a naval officer, was sent out to take over the colony. Mason was a

remarkable and an able man. He soon was in charge of a flourishing fish trade at Cupids and Harbour Grace, and at the same time he found time to explore part of the coast, as a result of which he produced the first fairly accurate map of the island. He was also so energetic in his enforcement of law and order that he roused the anger of the English merchants. They determined to have him sent back to England. Their first step was to send to the King a petition which accused the planters of taking the best fishing places, of stealing salt, casks, boats, and provisions, of preventing the fishermen from catching birds for bait on Baccalieu Island, and of harbouring pirates. The planters denied all these charges; indeed, they said that they themselves had suffered from the activities of pirates. Although the

Early Attempts at Colonization

English merchants had great influence at the court of King James, they found that Sir Francis Bacon had even more. Their petition was rejected. Since they could not get what they wanted by fair means, they resorted to force. They employed men to destroy the colonists' property in the hope of compelling them to leave the country, and in this they were partly successful.

During his stay in Newfoundland Captain Mason wrote a tract entitled "A Brief Discourse of the New-foundland"

in which he described the climate, the vegetation, and the fisheries. He said that sometimes the cod-fish were so plentiful near the shore that a boat could hardly be rowed through them and that in a month three men fishing, with men on shore to dry the fish, could catch and cure from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand fish.

During Mason's residence at Cupids there was an interesting incident. An Indian named Squantum had been captured, along with nineteen others, in New England.



*A Pirate*¹

¹ After Johnson, *History of the Pyrates*, 1724.

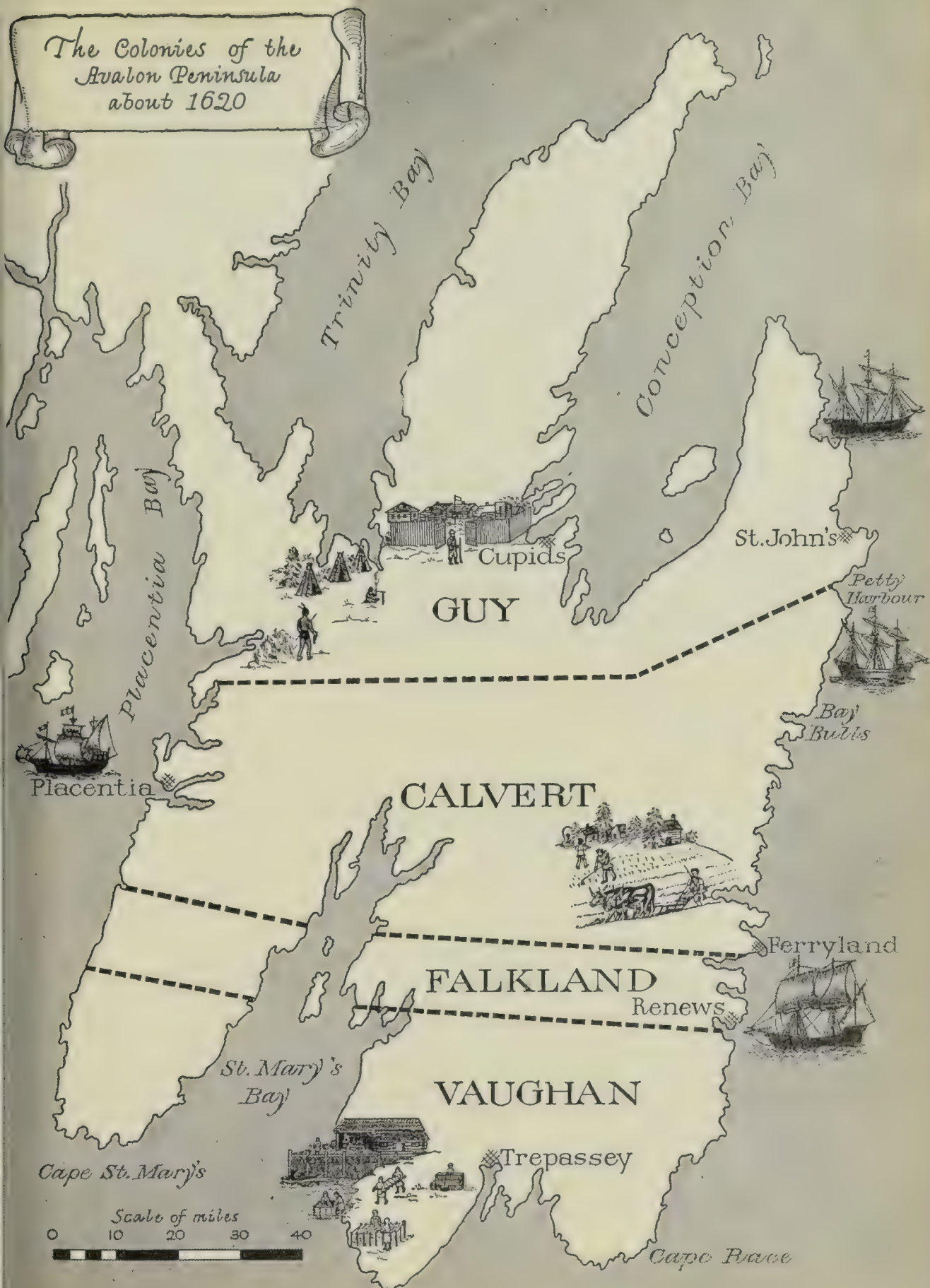
The Story of Newfoundland

They were all taken to Malaga in Spain and sold as slaves. Squantum appeared to be a superior kind of man, and he was allowed a certain amount of liberty. About four years after he was captured, he was one day wandering around the quay in Malaga when he met the captain of a vessel belonging to Newfoundland. He was smuggled aboard the ship, taken to London, and then to Cupids. After living there for some little time, he was taken back to England and finally restored to his native country. Clothed in an old soldier's uniform and covered with the glory of his experiences, he was regarded by his own people as a very superior being, and he was very much impressed with his own importance. When the Pilgrim Fathers arrived in New England in 1620, they were astonished to find an Indian who could speak English, and they found him a staunch friend and a willing helper.

Mason continued his rule in Newfoundland for six years, during which time he did much to put down piracy, to promote trade, to reduce the country to some semblance of order, and to explore its coasts. If only he had remained for some years longer, the later history of Newfoundland might have been different.

Vaughan's Colony. Although John Guy's grant of territory extended from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. Mary's, he could not actually make use of it all. In 1616, therefore, the company of which Guy was manager sold all that land south of a line drawn from Petty Harbour to Placentia Bay (see map) to Sir William Vaughan, who sent out a number of people the following year to settle in Trepassey. Unfortunately he seems to have chosen the wrong kind of

*The Colonies of the
Avalon Peninsula
about 1620*



The Story of Newfoundland

men for a venture of this sort. They were lazy good-for-nothings who did not even take the trouble to build houses for themselves but occupied some rude huts that had been erected by fishermen. The work of pioneering requires men with energy, skill, and determination if it is to be successful. When, in addition to idle emigrants, there is lack of leadership, there is little hope for a colony. Vaughan was a scholar, and instead of organizing the work of his men and superintending their labours, he busied himself writing books. This naturally resulted in failure, and he would have been ruined but for the fact that he was able to sell a strip of his land to Lord Falkland, and the remaining portion north of that strip to Sir George Calvert (later Lord Baltimore), retaining for himself only the most southerly part (see map on page 49).

Falkland's Colony. Falkland's colony did not fare any better than Vaughan's. The men who emigrated from England were not practical men prepared for hard work, and they did not receive the necessary guidance and direction required for colonization. This colony, therefore, did not last long and had no permanent effect on the country.

Ferryland. Sir George Calvert established his colony at Ferryland in 1621, and this, while it lasted, held out great promise of success. Houses were built, land was cultivated, a well was dug, and timber was cut. Wheat, barley, oats, and vegetables were successfully grown, all this in addition to carrying on the fishery. This work was organized not by Calvert himself but by his agents, who while they exerted themselves to make a success of the settlement proved to



Ferryland

Here Sir George Calvert, later Lord Baltimore, established his colony
in 1621¹

be dishonest, and Calvert (now Lord Baltimore), making his first visit to Newfoundland in 1627, found out how matters stood. He remained only a few weeks, but the following year he came again and brought his wife and children with him with the intention of settling permanently.

Not long after he arrived at Ferryland, a French warship made a raid on the near-by settlement of Cape Broyle and captured two ships. Baltimore immediately sent two ships to Cape Broyle, on the appearance of which the French warships made off to sea as fast as they could,

¹The Holloway Studio, Ltd.

The Story of Newfoundland

leaving behind the ships which they had captured with sixty-seven of their own men, who were made prisoners. Baltimore's ships gave chase, but were outsailed and had to give up the pursuit. In revenge he sent ships to Trepassey and captured six French fishing vessels with their cargoes of fish and cod oil. After this experience Baltimore begged the King to send out two warships to guard the coast, and one was actually sent.

The following winter proved to be an unusually severe one, and there was among the colonists a great deal of sickness, which resulted in some deaths. Lady Baltimore found that she could not stand the trials and hardships of pioneer life in a hard climate and left for Virginia. Lord Baltimore returned to England, where he soon obtained a grant from the King which led to the foundation of the new colony of Maryland.

Sir David Kirke. In 1638 all the separate colonies in Newfoundland were merged into one and given to Sir David Kirke, who came with a hundred men and took up residence in the house which Baltimore had built at Ferryland. He was one of the sea-dogs of his age and had gained fame for himself in many exploits, including the capture of Quebec from the French, which expedition he had conducted at his own expense. It may have been as compensation for this that he was given the colony of Newfoundland. He at once began a campaign for making money. He charged rent for stages and rooms, sold tavern licenses, levied taxes on fish caught, not only from Englishmen but also from foreigners, travelling all round the island to collect these taxes. He certainly ruled with a



View of Trepassey Bay from an Aeroplane¹

strong hand. As a consequence he became unpopular, and complaints were made against him to the British Government. He was charged with destroying cook-rooms and stages, with giving the best places to foreigners, and with setting up taverns. A commission was appointed to investigate these charges, and the result was that, although the charges were not proved against him, it was discovered that he had been acting dishonestly toward men who were partners in the scheme. As a result of the report made by the commission, he was dismissed. A successor was sent to take over the colony ; but Sir David Kirke and his family appear to have continued to live at Ferryland till 1673, when a

¹ Royal Canadian Air Force photograph.

The Story of Newfoundland

Dutch squadron raided the settlement, plundering it and setting it on fire.

Sir David Kirke's was the last official attempt at the colonization of Newfoundland. From this time on settling in the country was discouraged and indeed forbidden, and those who defied all regulations and took up their abode in Newfoundland were treated as outcasts. They were at one period advised to emigrate to the West Indies; and if they did not follow this advice, they were told that they had to live not less than six miles from the shore. The ban on settling was not lifted till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Thus Newfoundland took three hundred years to arrive at the point where other colonies began, because elsewhere settling was encouraged. Little wonder that development was slow.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who were the earliest settlers in Newfoundland? For what reason did they settle?
2. Tell what you know about "Sea Forest Plantation."
3. Why was Captain John Mason hated by the merchants of south-west England?
4. Give reasons for the failure of Vaughan's colony.
5. Give an account of Lord Baltimore's colony at Ferryland.
6. What were Sir David Kirke's good qualities? What caused his downfall?

CHAPTER FOUR

Rough-and-Ready Justice

Lack of Good Government. All civilized countries have some form of government; even savage tribes recognize the authority of a chief. How was Newfoundland governed in the days of the early settlers? The answer to that question is that there was no real attempt to establish a method of government for many years. In this respect Newfoundland differed from other transatlantic colonies both French and British. New France (Canada) was a dominion governed directly by the mother country, France, which sent out rulers, helped the colonists to cope with the raids of the Indians, and encouraged their trade. In New England each group of colonists set up a system very similar to that to which they had been accustomed at home. In Newfoundland it was entirely different. It was a country which, even if it did belong to England, was considered merely as a place where there was plenty of fish and which, therefore, gave employment to thousands of hardy English fishermen. It also served the useful purpose of providing land which might be granted to Court favourites.

The people who did have some interest in the country were the merchants and shipowners of the south-west of England. From the very beginning of the sixteenth century they had conducted a profitable business in organizing the annual fishing expeditions to Newfoundland. They were

The Story of Newfoundland

opposed to any permanent settlement with its consequent laws and regulations which would interfere with their authority. It suited them better to send their fleets westward each spring to take possession of the stages, flakes, and cook-rooms which they had left at the end of the preceding season, to catch and cure fish there during the summer, then to abandon the place in the autumn. If there were any settlers, they would occupy the harbours and coves which the merchants had been accustomed to use and so interfere with their business. Accordingly they tried hard to prevent any settlement, or at least to keep it as low as possible. The wealthy merchants, having some influence with the British Government, were able to have laws enacted which prevented the full colonization of the island.

In spite of prohibitions, however, the resident population gradually increased. The people occupied for the most part out-of-the-way coves where they stood little chance of detection, but some settled boldly in St. John's and other obvious places on the east coast. Since they were considered almost as outlaws, no thought was given to their good government, so that each man was a law unto himself. When to a small resident population was added a summer population of perhaps twenty thousand fishermen, all under little restriction, there was likely to be trouble, and there was. There were disorders and crimes in plenty. There must have been some violent scenes in St. John's in those days. The colonies established by Guy, Calvert, and others were well governed, and Mason tried with partial success to enforce order; but these merely touched the fringe of the problem. Some much more general and more powerful authority was required.

Rough-and-Ready Justice

Sir Richard Whitbourne. As a result of all this disorder petitions were sent to the British Government for naval protection, and in 1615 Sir Richard Whitbourne was sent out to try to establish order. He arrived at Trinity and held there the first court of justice ever held in the island. He visited other places and dealt with complaints; in St. John's he had brought before him complaints from no fewer than one hundred and seventy masters of vessels. He remained in the country for eight years. Unfortunately when he left, no one was sent to replace him, and matters soon became as bad as ever.

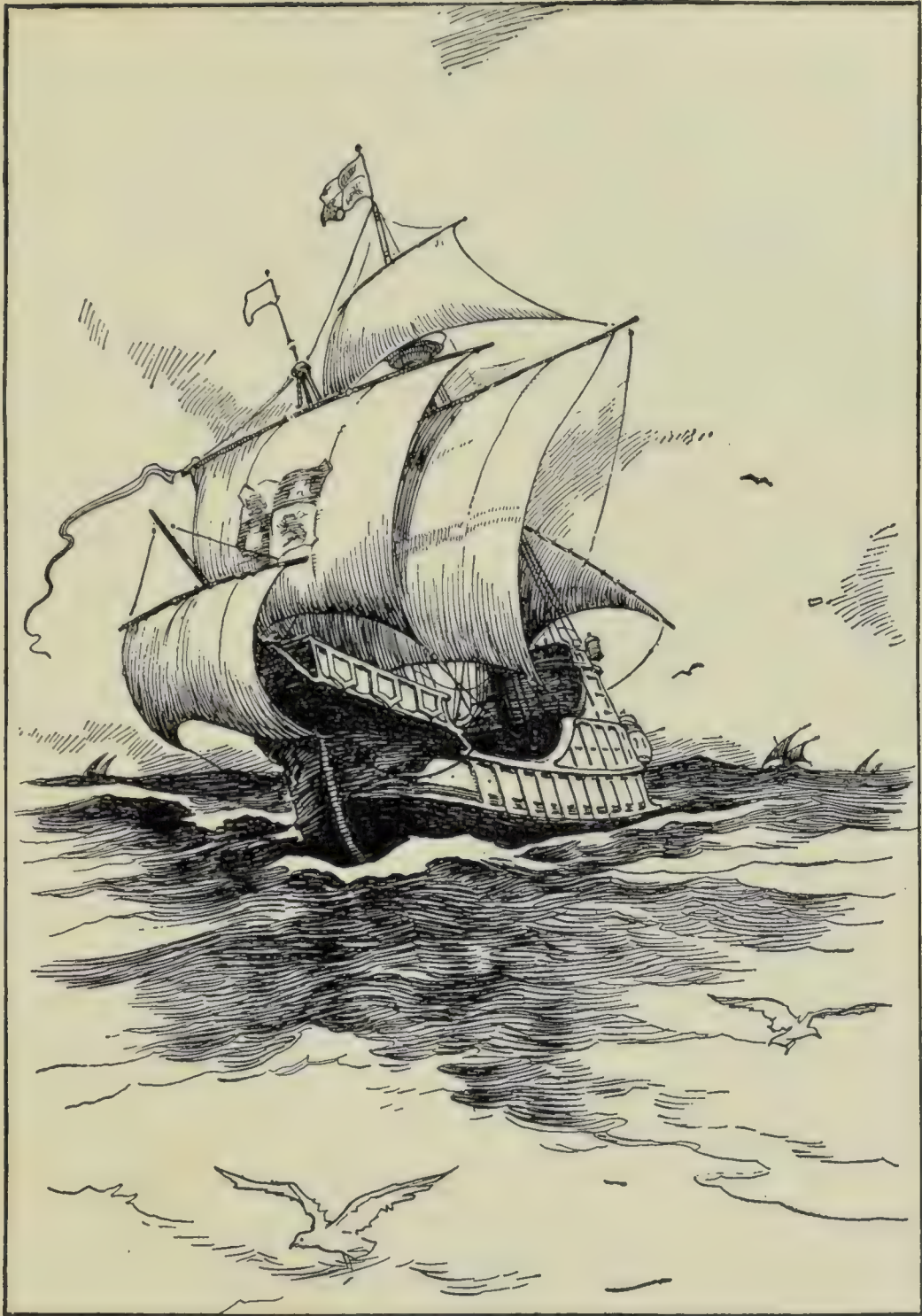
Whitbourne, after whom one of the few inland settlements is named, had been in Newfoundland before; he was present when Sir Humphrey Gilbert came in 1583 and had always been interested in the country. At home he had taken part in the fight against the Spanish Armada, having been one of the captains who dashed out of Torbay (in Devon) among the Spanish galleons. In his old age he wrote a little book about Newfoundland with a view to inducing people to settle there. He wrote on the fertility of the soil, of the herds of wild animals that roamed over its hills, of the vast flocks of game that inhabited the woods and moors. He became quite enthusiastic about it all. "What," he wrote, "can the world yield to the sustentation of man which is not to be gotten there? Desire you wholesome air, the very food of life? It is there. . . . What seas so abounding in fish? What shores so replenished with fresh and sweet waters? . . . I am loath to weary thee, good reader, in acquainting thee with these famous, fair, and profitable rivers; and likewise those delightful, large, and inestimable woods, and also with those fruitful and en-

The Story of Newfoundland

ting hills and delightful valleys." His book made a great impression at the time; so highly did King James think of it that he ordered a copy to be sent to every parish in the kingdom.

Star Chamber Rules. In 1630 another attempt was made to bring order out of the confusion that existed. A number of laws were issued by the famous Star Chamber which had been set up by Charles I. The destruction of flakes and stages and other fishing property was prohibited both during the fishing season and during the winter in the absence of the English fishermen. Such damage had often been done out of revenge for some injury. It was forbidden to set up taverns for the sale of tobacco, and of wine, beer, and other intoxicating drinks. Any person accused of killing another or of stealing to the value of forty shillings (ten dollars) was to be taken to England for trial, and, if convicted, was to be hanged. Hanged for the theft of ten dollars!

Another rule laid down by the Star Chamber was that the captain of the first ship to arrive in any particular harbour was to be Admiral of that harbour for the season. The old rule had been that the captains of the various ships were to act as Admirals in weekly turns; but now the first to arrive, who might possibly be an ignorant bully, had placed in his hands the power to allot places in the harbour, to act as judge in all cases of dispute, and in general to act as governor, parliament, and law-courts combined for the whole season. This crude system of government by Fishing Admirals led to much dissatisfaction, injustice, and cruelty, but it continued for more than a century.



A Spanish Galleon

The Story of Newfoundland

In order to prevent settlement the Star Chamber also laid it down that "all owners of ships trading to Newfoundland (are) forbidden to carry any persons not of the ship's Company or such as are to plant or do intend to settle there and that speedy punishment may be inflicted on offenders." Here again we see the hand of the merchants, who wished to keep all privileges in their own hands and who, by their influence at Court, succeeded in securing the laws they wanted.

More Restrictions. In spite of all these restrictions the number of settlers gradually increased. Men deserted from their ships, hid until the fleet sailed for England, then settled in the country. The merchants, alarmed at this, sought and obtained more powers in 1637, when another rule was made to the effect that those who chose to settle in Newfoundland had no rights whatever and would be compelled to live inland at least six miles from the shore. This rule, when it came to be enforced by the Fishing Admirals, led to violent scenes in many a harbour. Settlers were ordered to pull down their houses and their stores and remove them inland within a certain time, which was often unnecessarily short. Some settlers defied the Admirals, and as a result there was sometimes bloodshed and always bitterness. What use to a fisherman to live six miles from the sea? The poor harassed settlers had in many cases to move to some other cove as far away as possible from those frequented by the English fishermen, where they hoped they would remain unmolested.

The First Commission Government. With the coming of the Commonwealth in England under Cromwell, the policy to-

Rough-and-Ready Justice

ward Newfoundland was entirely changed. No longer were there any Court favourites to reward, and no longer did the west-coast merchants exercise influence on the country's ruler. Cromwell took an independent course when, in 1653, he sent out to Newfoundland fourteen commissioners to govern the country. They were the first real governors of the island. All British ships on the coast were put under their control, authority was given them to fortify harbours for the protection of the country in general and the fishery in particular, and the collection of taxes on fish and oil was entrusted to them.

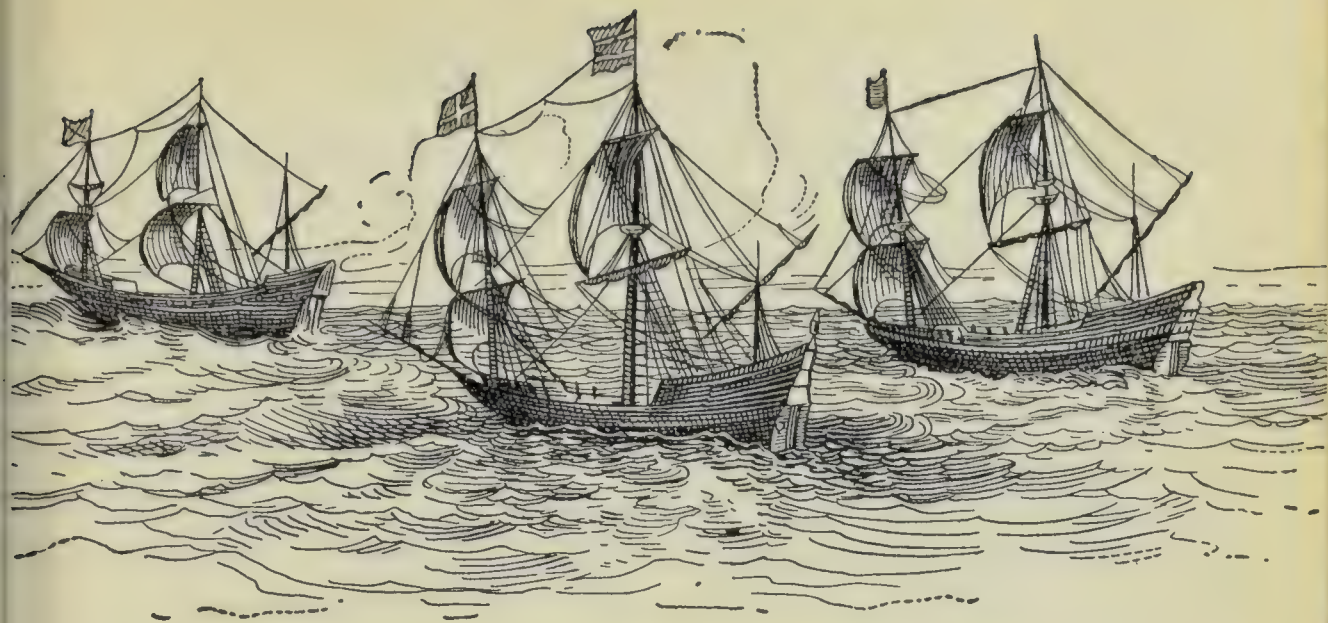
The head of the Commission was John Treworgie, who was a man of sterling character and a good and wise administrator. Under his governorship the "planters," as the settlers were often called from the name "plantation" given to the earliest colonies, received protection for the first time; indeed, this became a cause for complaint on the part of the English merchants. As settlement increased, trade increased, the cultivation of the land became more general, ship-building flourished, and at the same time the fishery was very successful, so that this period, which unfortunately lasted only seven years, was one of all-round progress. In the history of Newfoundland it is one of the bright spots amid a dreary record of wrong and oppression.

Restrictions Again and Defiance. The return of the monarchy to England in 1660 undid all the good work that Treworgie had done. The Devonshire merchants again used their influence at Court to further their own ends. The Newfoundlanders, having enjoyed the benefits of a

The Story of Newfoundland

good governor, sought to make this a permanent arrangement. However, not only was this very reasonable request rejected by the British Government, but the restrictions were made even more severe; it was even suggested that all those who had settled in the country should be forced to go to the West Indies or some other colony. This course was not actually adopted, but settlers were encouraged to return to England or go to the colonies. Those who elected to remain were often treated in the most brutal manner; their property, consisting of boats, wharves, stages, and houses, was destroyed, they were imprisoned, they were beaten, some were killed. The merchants, flushed with their success at Court, were taking a terrible revenge for the defiance of their wishes during Treworgie's rule. The settlers were completely taken by surprise at this sudden and vicious attack, but after a week or two they organized a defence of their remaining property and their persons. Fortunately further trouble was prevented by the timely arrival of two British warships.

One of the settlers, Downing by name, was elected to go to England to lay their grievances before the British Government. For a time he made no headway; to all his arguments a deaf ear was turned. He did succeed in obtaining the support of some people outside the government. As a result of the help of his new friends and of his own agitation, Downing at last won his case, and an order was issued allowing the planters to remain in possession of their houses and stages. This, however, was the only point he gained. He tried to persuade the government to send out a governor and a clergyman and to allow the Newfoundland settlers to fortify certain places, such as St. John's,



Type of Vessels in Use during the Seventeenth Century

Carbonear, and Ferryland, at their own expense. These very reasonable requests were not granted.

The little success which Downing had attained proved to be of no avail. The orders which were issued were ignored; in fact, the laws about settlement were made even more severe and more unreasonable. Regulations forbidding planters to live within six miles of the coast, prohibiting masters of vessels from carrying any but genuine fishermen, and prescribing the treatment of murderers and thieves were repeated. In addition, every master of a vessel was required to take with him every year "green" men to the extent of one fifth of his crew, evidently with the idea of training men for the Navy. Masters who did not take back all the men they had taken out were to be fined £100.

The agitation for a governor was kept up by the planters, and they were supported by the naval officers who came to Newfoundland waters each summer, but all requests were rejected by a corrupt king (Charles II) who

The Story of Newfoundland

was probably bribed by those who had a financial interest in the country. The country was allowed to drift along, a prey to every enemy. It was during this period that the French established themselves at Placentia, sowing the seeds of future trouble. For a time, at the end of the seventeenth century, there was a truce between the merchants and the planters in view of the common menace of French raids, and they often fought side by side for their very lives and for the existence of the fishery.

Fishing Admirals. Instead of obtaining a governor Newfoundland continued to be governed by the Fishing Admirals, if such a barbarous system could be called government. Every act relating to Newfoundland up to the beginning of the eighteenth century confirmed the system whereby the master of the first arrival in each harbour in the spring was given full control of the harbour for the season, with the second and third arrivals as Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral respectively. The Admiral (a pompous title for such a post) had the privilege of choosing and reserving to himself as much of the beach as he required, and in order to secure good places he actually drove the settlers out of their homes and fishing grounds to make room for himself and his friends. He was also required to act as judge in all disputes; although people who were dissatisfied with a judgment given against them had the privilege of appealing to the commander of a British ship, in practice this was of little general effect because naval ships did not visit all harbours and some people had thus no chance to complain. The Fishing Admiral also was supposed to keep a record of all matters connected with

Rough-and-Ready Justice

the fisheries during the season, but in some cases he could not do so for the simple reason that he could not write.

To us nowadays it is hardly believable that such a system should have been allowed to last so long. The skipper who happened to arrive first in a cove, no matter how ignorant he might be, no matter how debased a character he might be, had the power almost of life and death over hundreds of people. He had to decide matters in which he himself might be involved and in which he would naturally decide in his own favour. The "court-house" was usually a fish store where, seated on a barrel, the Admiral, who had probably been bribed with money or a bowl of calabogus, (a drink composed of rum, spruce beer, and molasses) gave his judgments. Places on the beach were wrongfully wrested from their owners, taken by the Admiral, or given to his friends. Those who earned his displeasure were heavily fined or brutally whipped. In addition to all this, he was the importer of all goods necessary for domestic use and also for the fishery, and he sold these at his own prices.

Such was the system of government in Newfoundland in existence up to about the middle of the eighteenth century. It is surprising that people continued to live under such conditions, though as a matter of fact many did emigrate to the New England colonies. One advantage was that it did not last all the year round; the Admirals all left the shores of Newfoundland in the autumn and did not return till the following spring. Yet it is doubtful if, after all, this was an advantage; for if the rule of the Admirals was harsh and unjust, the state of lawlessness during the winter among men who had no work to do led to disorder

The Story of Newfoundland

and crime that made life for the decent people a nightmare. It was altogether a sorry time for Newfoundland.

Naval Commanders. After the capture of St. John's by the French in 1696, a garrison was sent out from England and the commander of the garrison was named governor of the island as well. It appears, however, that he governed mainly during the winter, the Fishing Admirals retaining for some time at any rate their powers during the fishing season. As a result of the conduct of one of these officers, the governorship was transferred to the superior naval officer on the Newfoundland station. While this led to some improvement, as the naval officers gradually took over the powers of the Fishing Admirals, it was still unsatisfactory since it subjected a civilian population to naval law; but it was a step in the direction of justice and order.

A Local Parliament. The date 1711 should be recorded in figures of gold on the pages of Newfoundland history, because it was in that year that we find the first record of any attempt at local government, a very meagre record unfortunately. In that year a meeting was held which was attended by many of the leading people in St. John's and at which certain laws and orders were made. As a result of the decisions arrived at, a collection was to be made from commanders of ships, from merchants, and from heads of families for the maintenance of a minister and for repairing the church; fines were to be levied for swearing and drunkenness and for damaging fish premises; patrols were to be on duty at night to prevent thefts; houses and stages which had been taken from their rightful owners

Rough-and-Ready Justice

were to be restored; steps were to be taken to strengthen the fortifications—a fine programme of improvements.

The first few meetings of this local parliament appear to have been harmonious, and it looked as if this might be the beginning of a regular system of local government; but for some reason the meetings came to an end after two years, when all the old quarrels were revived and agreement could not be reached. Representative Government, toward which these town meetings might have been the first step, did not come till more than a century later.

The First Governor. Meanwhile the Fishing Admirals and the naval commanders between them controlled the island, with the powers of the Admirals being gradually curtailed. Disorder, crime, and confusion continued with little check. There was no resident governor to rule the people, too small a military and naval force to protect them, and no real law courts to give them justice. Petition after petition was sent to the British Government relating to these matters, and at last, as a result of reports made by the naval commanders and others who had spent some time in Newfoundland, a governor was appointed in 1729. After all these years Newfoundland was recognized as a colony of the British Empire and not merely as a large "ship" moored conveniently near the fishing grounds.

The first governor was a naval officer, Captain Henry Osborne. The choice of this man did not prove to be a very happy one; for although Osborne was an honest and straightforward man with the best of intentions, he was not strong enough and not subtle enough to overcome all the obstacles that were put in his way. One of his first

The Story of Newfoundland

actions was to divide the country into districts and appoint in each a justice of the peace to keep order in his district. This very sensible and reasonable arrangement was not to the liking of the English merchants, who claimed that their Fishing Admirals, whose powers had come from an act of Parliament, had greater authority than Osborne's magistrates, who had received their authority from the King. If the British Government had been anxious to remedy this, they could easily have done so by passing another act; but because of the continued influence of the merchants, they did not do so, and as a result there was uncertainty, confusion, and quarrelling for sixty years.

Osborne found on his arrival in Newfoundland that there were no prisons, so that offenders against such laws as there were had to escape punishment unless they could pay a fine or were whipped. For the purpose of collecting funds to build prisons in St. John's and Ferryland, he levied a tax on the people of these places of half a quintal of fish per boat and half a quintal for each boat's room, with an equivalent amount for those who were not engaged in the fishery. He also erected stocks in various places for the punishment of petty offences. In about eighteen months a court-house and a prison had been erected in St. John's. But jails and stocks did not overawe Osborne's opponents, who continued to oppose his authority either to appoint magistrates or to levy taxes, and so the old struggle between the merchants and the settlers continued.

The law which provided that any person accused of murder had to be sent to England for trial proved to be impossible to apply. Witnesses to such a crime did not want to lose a season's fishing or incur the expense in-

Rough-and-Ready Justice

volved; hence they failed to appear at all, and the accused person, having no witnesses against him, had to be freed. Accordingly a change was made whereby a court was set up in Newfoundland, but a sentence was not allowed to be carried out till it had been reported to the British authorities.

The duties of the Governor were many and varied. As a representative of the King he had to make reports to the British Government and receive in-

structions from it. As the commander of both the military and the naval forces he had to attend to all the innumerable details connected with these services. As the head of the government of the country he had to give instructions to the magistrates and supervise all their work. These and many other activities kept the Governor busy during his all too brief stay in the country, because for many years the governor spent the winter in England.



*Paying the Penalty in the Stocks
for a Petty Offence*

The Magistrates. The new magistrates had a very difficult task to perform. Unaccustomed to any but the harsh judgments of the Fishing Admirals, the people had been taking matters into their own hands, and they resented the

The Story of Newfoundland

interference of a superior power. Some of the magistrates were lax in their duties, and in these districts lawlessness continued. Others tried to carry out their duties conscientiously and had on occasion to suffer for their efficiency. A case occurred in Bonavista in which a man called Joseph Butt was charged by John Vincent with stealing a pair of new shoes. The magistrate, William Keen, heard the case, found Butt guilty, and sentenced him to fifteen stripes on the bare back at the public whipping post. When the sentence came to be carried out, a crowd collected and tried to rescue the prisoner; but Keen himself, having heard that this might happen, was present and at great risk to himself saw that the whipping was given. When it was all over, the crowd decided that Vincent should be whipped as well, and this they actually began to do when Keen again intervened and probably saved Vincent's life. The crowd, still defiant, then turned their attention to the magistrate and, armed with hatchets, went to Keen's premises and cut down a large flake. This incident illustrates the difficulties with which the magistrates had to contend. (A picture of a whipping post is shown on page 127.)

The End of the Fishing Admirals' Rule. The appointment of a governor for Newfoundland, as we have seen, did not by any means bring her troubles to an end. The magistrates in many cases were ignorant men and in all cases new to such duties as had been laid upon them. Quarrels between the merchants and the Fishing Admirals on the one hand and the governor and the magistrates on the other were long and bitter. For years the merchants did all in their power to have the governor removed from the

Rough-and-Ready Justice

island, but for once they did not have it all their own way. They found that the governors were here to stay, and gradually their opposition became more and more feeble. The last blow was dealt in 1764 when a collector of customs was appointed and the navigation laws were extended to the island. The merchants contended that the fishery should be free from any taxes, and petitions were sent to the British Government, but with no effect. Finally the Fishing Admirals, having lost most of their power, abandoned their claims. So ended a system of government that was crude, harsh, and oppressive, and no one regretted its passing except those who had been responsible for its existence.

Prevention of Land Cultivation. One would think that the settlers would now enter on a period of happiness and prosperity, that the hardships they had endured would now be at an end; but such was not the case. There was certainly an improvement, but the people had yet a long period to pass through before they were given their full rights. Although the merchants and the Fishing Admirals were now powerless, the unjust laws which had been passed at their request remained, and successive governors had to see that these laws were carried out. The chief of these laws was that which prohibited the cultivation of the land or even the erection of buildings except those required for the fishery. While the laws against settlement were still in force and attempts were continually being made to prevent immigration, the fact that settlers were there was recognized and they received more protection than they had ever enjoyed before.

The Story of Newfoundland

The Magistrates Again. Under the rule of governors the colony began to show signs of prosperity and contentment. There was constant trouble on the west coast between the French and the English fishermen, and this lasted till 1904 ; but on other parts of the coast both the resident and the summer population carried on their work with considerable success and with a measure of good-will. In the years that followed the appointment of the first governor, the authority of the King's representative came to be recognized, and, on the whole, matters went smoothly with only minor incidents. The principal source of trouble was the courts ; when the magistrates were not incompetent they were often corrupt, and only a few were really successful. At one time the judge of the principal court of the country, that in St. John's, had formerly been in succession a clerk, a teacher, and the owner of a tavern—not a very suitable training for a judgeship. The magistrates had no fixed salary, but were given so much for each trial and usually a proportion of the fines imposed. On one occasion in St. John's a man was fined \$750 for being drunk and using improper language, which sum was divided among the three magistrates—a good day's work. The same three magistrates issued licences for one hundred and eight public houses in St. John's alone at about \$23.50 each, half of which went into their own pockets. The poor man had little chance of justice in these courts because the rich could buy off the magistrates.

This system lasted till 1791, but all the time there was a growing feeling of indignation against it. A change came when the Supreme Court was established, and it was fortunate that the first judge was a particularly able man ; he

Rough-and-Ready Justice

was Chief Justice Reeves, one of the notable figures in Newfoundland history. He was learned, painstaking, firm, and absolutely impartial. He gave favour to none and justice to all. A man's station in life did not affect his chance at the court. It was a happy change for the poor man. Opposition by the merchants to the new court was strenuous at first, and there was many a scene; but finally Reeves, backed by the British authorities, triumphed, and the Supreme Court then established has survived to the present day.

Sectarianism. During the century of which we are now speaking another source of trouble made its appearance to add to the cares and worries of the colonists. This was the religious question. In those days people were not so tolerant as they are today; they were so much opposed to those who were not of their particular faith that there was often bloodshed. There was bad feeling between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and any trivial incident might become a serious cause of strife between the denominations. The responsibility for this state of affairs rested on several governors who made laws that were very unjust. It was not till near the end of the eighteenth century that a proclamation was issued allowing all "to have full liberty of conscience and the free exercise of all such modes of worship as are not prohibited by law." This enlightened action put an end to official acts of violence and injustice, but the seeds sown during the previous years bore fruit for many a year afterward and caused much unhappiness and discord throughout the country. Nowadays it is recognized that every man is entitled to adopt the religious beliefs he

The Story of Newfoundland

thinks best without interference from any other person, and that people may hold different beliefs on religious matters and yet be the best of friends.

Mutiny. During the whole time in which there were governors in Newfoundland and for some time before that, there was a garrison and also a portion of the British fleet stationed at St. John's. In the year 1797, owing to insufficient pay and unsuitable food, a mutiny broke out in the fleet in England, and this spread to the fleet overseas. In St. John's harbour only one ship was affected. One day the men on this ship refused to obey orders. The ring-leader was seized in order that he might be punished. The men tried to interfere, so that the officers had to draw their swords and the marines their bayonets, after which there was no further trouble. Three days later the Governor ordered a parade of all the soldiers and sailors in St. John's and he made a long speech to them. He praised the bravery of those who had remained loyal and the promptitude with which they had acted, condemned the villainy of the mutineers, and threatened dire punishment to any who would repeat the crime. Finally he called upon all to be honest men and loyal subjects, and, as it was Sunday morning, he sent them to church to pray for help to win respect in this world and happiness in the next.

A Conspiracy. Three years after the mutiny there was another conspiracy, this time of a more serious nature. In St. John's a society had been formed, members of which took oaths of loyalty to the society and of secrecy as to its doings. It is said that there were about four hundred mem-

Rough-and-Ready Justice

bers, and that they used signs and passwords for mutual recognition. The troops who were stationed at St. John's, men under hard discipline in which flogging for every small offence was common, were one by one induced to join this secret society until nearly the whole regiment was involved. The plan that was made by the society was nothing less than the killing of all the merchants and the seizing of their property not only in St. John's but also in the chief out-ports. A Sunday was chosen for the uprising, when the principal inhabitants and the army officers would be in church, and when it would therefore be easy to obtain possession of all the arms. The church was to be destroyed, and then a murderous attack was to be made on the people. The success of this plan would be the signal for similar affairs throughout the country.

Fortunately for St. John's and the country generally, the plot was discovered. Not long before the appointed day the military commander received information of what was afoot, and he made his preparations accordingly. On the Sunday which had been chosen for putting the plot into execution, the troops were ordered to parade instead of going to church and were inspected. Some were arrested, and the others were kept under close supervision and strict discipline.

The sensation caused by this conspiracy had hardly died down when another was unearthed. This time it was confined to the men of the Newfoundland Regiment and probably was inspired by fear of the consequences of the former plot. The plan was to overcome their officers, take possession of the vessels in the harbour, and make their way to America. The plot failed because there was some

The Story of Newfoundland

misunderstanding about the time at which operations were to begin, the mutineers in one of the forts commencing too soon. This attempt was easily dealt with. Those who escaped fled to the woods, where they endured much suffering until they were captured.

After this a close enquiry was made and punishment followed. Many were tried by court-martial and hanged or shot. Some were sent to Halifax, where they were dealt with in a similar manner. Others were banished from the country to penal servitude. The Regiment was disbanded.

Admiral Waldegrave. Admiral Waldegrave, who was Governor at the end of the eighteenth century, was very active in the administration of the country and in everything that tended toward its good. He encouraged religion, he organized for the first time a collection of money for the poor, he had a law passed forbidding the Chief Justice to leave the country without permission, and he condemned the merchants for their treatment of the fishermen. He expressed the opinion that it was not right for the Mother Country to pay the whole cost of the government of the island, and suggested that this would not be necessary if a duty of twelve cents a gallon on rum were levied. Taxation is never popular, and it appears that the Newfoundlanders of those days did not welcome the idea; indeed, it was so strongly opposed that nothing more was heard of it.

Restrictions Still in Force. During all this time, that is, up to the end of the eighteenth century, the rights of the settlers had been very much restricted. Although they now received some protection, they had no right to enclose

Rough-and-Ready Justice



*A Sailing Vessel of the Latter Part of the Eighteenth Century*¹

land or to build houses without first receiving permission, which was seldom given. In spite of this houses had been built and a considerable amount of land had been fenced by individuals who usually took advantage of a change of governor to do this, pretending to the new governor that the former governor had given permission. Sometimes they took advantage of the governor's absence during the winter to do by stealth what they dared not do openly, hoping that on his return he would not be so harsh as to order the removal of a fence or the destruction of a building. The new dwellings erected in this manner were huddled close to some existing structure the better to

¹ State Street Trust Company.

The Story of Newfoundland

escape notice, thus providing material for a widespread fire. They were usually of the meanest description, unpainted, mere hovels; yet they served their purpose of affording shelter.

Governor Waldegrave learned of the tricks to which the colonists resorted and took steps to put a stop to them. Before he left for the winter, he gave strict orders to the sheriff not to allow any erections during his absence. In spite of this command he found, when he returned in the spring, that some land had been fenced and some buildings put up. The sheriff claimed that these were of no importance, but the Governor reproved him sharply and ordered him to have the fences and buildings removed, threatening him with dismissal should he again disobey orders.

A Change of Opinion. It was also about this time (the end of the eighteenth century) that the English merchants began to change their minds about some of the regulations on which they had insisted for so long. They came to see, for example, that it was really an advantage to them to encourage immigration and settlement because it saved them the expense of bringing fishermen from England. This, indeed, was a right-about face. It is a great pity that they had not considered the matter in this light before; it would have saved nearly three hundred years of quarrelling and bitterness, of tyranny and injustice, of strife and bloodshed; it would have led to earlier colonization and to the cultivation of the land. As it was, the progress of the country was delayed, and even today it is suffering because of the unjust treatment it received in the first three hundred years of its existence as a colony.

Rough-and-Ready Justice

Restrictions Removed at Last. All the governors who were sent to Newfoundland had orders to carry out the laws, which, as we have seen, had been framed to suit the English merchants, and it was not till 1802 that any governor deliberately disobeyed his instructions. Vice-Admiral Gambier was so impressed with the state of affairs in St. John's, whereby the people had no pastures for their cattle and sheep, that he made grants amounting to eighty acres of waste land. This was the first step toward the removal of the restrictions.

The large immigration that took place at the beginning of the nineteenth century furnished another reason for the changing of the policy of the British Government. The Governor of the day, Sir Thomas Duckworth, reported that the population was now so large that it would be impossible to check or even to lessen the rate of increase. The wars in which Britain was engaged with France and America, too, had their effect, because the high seas were not safe, and vessels laden with men going to or coming from the Newfoundland fishery were liable to be captured. Men preferred, therefore, to settle in Newfoundland to save the perilous voyages in spring and autumn. The Governor suggested that the time had now come for all restrictions as to settlement to be removed; they could not be enforced, and it was not advisable that they should be enforced. He pointed out also that the large population could not be supported if the people were not allowed to cultivate the soil. These very sensible remarks concluded with the recommendation that a local authority should be created to look after local affairs so that the people might have some say in the governing of their own country.

The Story of Newfoundland

Gambier's bold action, together with Duckworth's report, resulted some years later in the official lifting of the ban. Definite instructions came from the British Government to the Governor permitting him to make grants of land to industrious people for the purpose of cultivation. When he came to make these grants, he found that there was not very much to grant because most of the available land had been taken without permission.

In 1811 another drastic change took place in St. John's. All the water-side had been occupied with fishing rooms, where no buildings except those necessary for the fishery were supposed to be erected. In course of time, however, other erections had been made, shops, stores, and dwelling-houses. The merchants said that St. John's was more of a trading port than a fishing harbour, and that permission should be given to lay out proper streets and to build wharves, and this was done. Thus another step was taken in the direction of improvement. Sites were rented and the money so raised had to be sent to England, although it could have been put to good use in the island in providing police, fire protection, light, and sewerage. A request was made to this effect, but it was not granted. The merchants themselves organized a fire brigade and what was called a vigilance committee, a kind of volunteer police force. They also built a hospital, and the benefit thus conferred on the poorer classes was so great that the latter soon began to make contributions toward its upkeep.

The First Resident Governor. During all this time the governors had spent only two or three months in the country, arriving usually in August and returning to Eng-

Rough-and-Ready Justice

land in October or November. Newfoundland had no form of government at all during three quarters of the year except that of the naval or military commander. In 1817 the Governor, Admiral Pickmore, on his departure from England, was instructed to remain in the island during the winter, and this rule has applied ever since. The period of his governorship was a particularly trying one for the colony; there had been several disastrous fires in St. John's, the price of fish had fallen very low, there were outbreaks of violence, there was starvation. Advanced in years and bowed down with the cares of office, Admiral Pickmore died in midwinter, the first governor to reside in the colony during the winter and the only governor to die in the colony. The winter must have been a very severe one, because it took three weeks to cut a channel through the ice to allow the vessel that was to carry his body to England to sail.

Here for the moment we leave the story of Newfoundland's struggle to obtain a form of government. Not much progress had been made in three hundred years. The Island had passed through the early stages of colonization. It was now recognized as a place where people lived, and where, therefore, it was necessary to have law and order; and this, as we have seen, had now been established in some measure. A resident governor had been appointed, so that the inhabitants were no longer exposed to the injustices that existed under Fishing Admirals. Newfoundland, at this stage in its history, was just reaching the point where other colonies had begun. From now on more rapid growth could be hoped for and the people would soon be ready to think of governing themselves. Thus it will be seen that,

The Story of Newfoundland

although Newfoundland may have been the oldest colony, it was really the youngest as far as development was concerned.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What was the chief reason for the lack of good government in the early days of settlement?

2. Why was Sir Richard Whitbourne sent to Newfoundland?

3. What were the Star Chamber rules? Why were they made?

4. Why is the governorship of Treworgie described as "one of the few bright spots amid a dreary record of wrong and oppression"?

5. Describe the state of affairs in Newfoundland following the restoration of the monarchy in England.

6. Give an account of the powers exercised by the Fishing Admirals.

7. Why should the year 1711 be "recorded in figures of gold"?

8. What reforms did the first governor make? What difficulties did he encounter?

9. When were the restrictions on settlement and on cultivation of the land removed? Describe the circumstances.

10. Imagine that you were living in the days of the Fishing Admirals and describe what probably happened when the Admirals arrived in the spring with orders that all settlers must remove their houses at least six miles from shore.

11. Make a time chart inserting the chief events recorded in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Cod-Fishery

The First European Fisheries. "The sixteenth century was the golden age of fish." In Britain, as in the rest of Europe, the fasts and ordinances of the church were strictly observed by the people. There was no difficulty in obtaining markets, rather was it the case that in Europe as a whole the supply was never equal to the demand. European needs were served mainly by Iceland and the North Sea, to which places fishermen of all nations resorted. Fishing was not only profitable, but when carried on with enterprise, it was a sure road to wealth.

There is a tradition in the Channel Islands that, even before John Cabot made his first voyage to the west, men from those islands were in the habit of visiting the fishing grounds of what we now call Newfoundland; but there is no definite information on this (see Chapter II). Probably the first reference in writing to the Newfoundland fishery is contained in a letter written in December, 1497, by an Italian living in London to the Duke of Milan. This letter, after relating the story of Cabot's voyage, stated that the sea in the vicinity of the new land was full of fish, which could be caught not only with the net but even with a basket loaded with stones to make it sink. The writer of the letter predicted that there would be such a great trade in fish that it would probably lead to the abandonment of the Iceland fishery.

The Story of Newfoundland

The following year Cabot made his second voyage, and other owners of ships, having heard of the abundance of fish in western waters, provided themselves with fishing gear and fishermen, but there is no record of the result of those voyages. The news that the highly prized cod-fish of the first quality and in immense shoals inhabited the waters off the coasts of the new land soon spread to the maritime nations of Europe, and in the opening years of the sixteenth century other explorers followed Cabot westward. Gaspar Corte Real of Portugal carried back to his native country news of the wonderful opportunities for fishermen in the western waters, and immediately fishing companies were formed for the purpose of drawing wealth from the newly discovered seas. They were so successful that, in the course of a few years, the King of Portugal found it worth while to put a tax of 10 per cent on their profits, which tax in the next half century grew to large proportions and contributed greatly to the revenue of the country.

The success of the English and the Portuguese fishermen did not pass unnoticed by other nations. Frenchmen began in 1504 to send ships to the new fishing grounds, but the Spaniards did not send any till 1545. The fishery was encouraged by the various nations not only for the value of the fish caught, but also for the training in seamanship which it afforded to men who could be drafted to the navies after they had spent a few seasons on fishing vessels. Fish, too, as an article of diet was then in greater general use than it is today. Except for the very rich, fresh meat was unobtainable during the winter, and stock-fish, that is, fish kept in stock or stored during the winter, was



Fishing Vessels in St. John's Harbour¹

the chief food in all countries. Thus great importance was attached to the fisheries, and there was considerable rivalry among the nations in the use of the fishing grounds. The discovery of Newfoundland, therefore, was regarded as highly as, or perhaps more highly than, the discovery of a rich gold mine. Yet in the records of the time the fisheries do not receive much mention; fishing was an ordinary everyday calling, and few thought it worth their while to write about it when there were wars and the doings of kings and soldiers to relate. In the early history of Newfoundland we get only occasional references to the fishery.

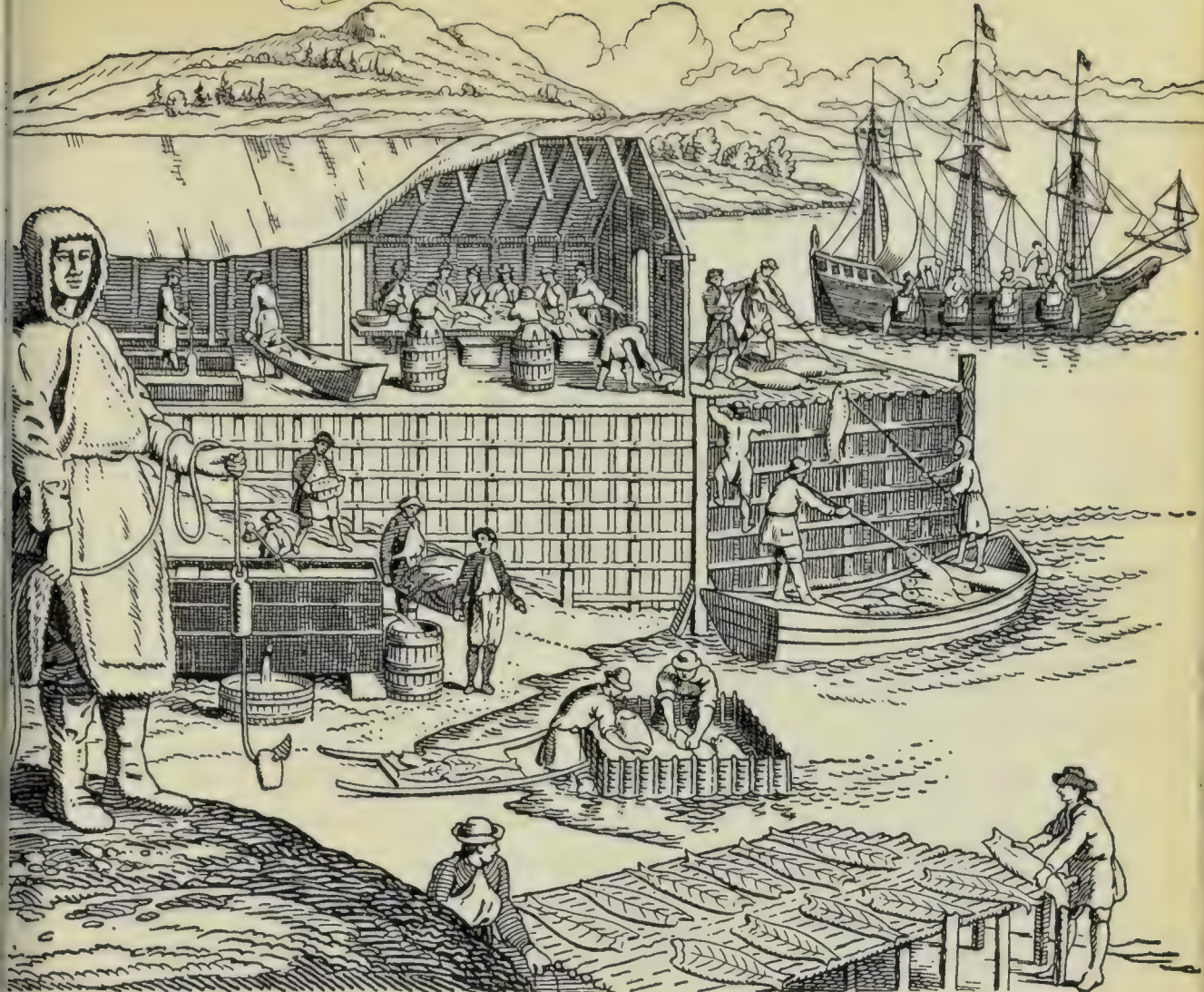
¹The Holloway Studio, Ltd.

The Story of Newfoundland

Each year the fleets arrived with the easterly winds in the spring; some fished on the Banks and carried home the fish green, while others carried on the shore fishery from St. John's and from coves and harbours north and south of St. John's. Later the more daring spirits went north to the Strait of Belle Isle and Labrador and hunted the seal, the walrus, and the whale in addition to catching fish.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the number of English vessels engaged in the fishery grew to at least fifty, and the number of men carried in these vessels to about three thousand. Besides the vessels actually engaged, other ships, called "sack ships," were used to carry to market that part of the fish which the small fishing vessels could not hold. These freighters were called "sack ships," probably because they carried sack (sherry) and other wines to Newfoundland as well as salt. Thus St. John's, even in those early days, was a trading port of some little importance.

Methods of Fishing. It is of interest to note that there has not been very much improvement in the methods of fishing since those early days. The shore fishermen went out before dawn; when they returned with their loads, the fish were thrown up on the stages, split, gutted, and salted. There was the splitting table, the trough known as the Ram's Horn (for washing the fish), the flakes (stages raised on piles and covered with boughs for drying the fish), all very much as today. The dress of the fishermen in those days consisted of sheep-skins worn with the wool inside and having the outside covered with tar; they were called "barvels." The only modern improve-



View of a Stage Showing the Manner of Fishing for, Curing, and Drying Cod¹

ments are motor boats, traps, oilskins, and rubber boots. There are, however, big differences in the Bank fishery; the modern method of using bultows was unknown then, and all fishing was done from the ship itself, the men standing on little platforms hung over the side of the ship and using a large hook and a stout line and a sinker of lead or iron. It is said that at times the cod-fish were so plentiful at certain parts of the coast that bears caught them on the beach.

¹After Moll's map of North America, 1712-1714. Courtesy of the Public Archives of Canada.

The Story of Newfoundland

The method of payment varied according to nationality. The Spaniards, the Portuguese, and some of the French were paid wages which did not depend on the amount of fish caught. The English and those from the north of France worked on shares, the owners of the vessels usually taking two thirds and the men one third among them. The vessels were generally small, about fifty tons.

Year by year in the spring the fishermen adventurers left the various little English ports to sail westward to the great fishing grounds. Year by year in the autumn they returned with the wealth they had gained. During the summer the English, with their instinct for leadership, took command of all the harbours and, in return for protection against pirates, expected and obtained help from all whether British or not. Gradually a great business was built up, which continued to grow and prosper and which enriched the nations that sent out men and ships. At the end of the first century of fishing Sir Walter Raleigh was able to say that if any harm should come to the Newfoundland fleet it would be the greatest calamity that could befall England.

Laws. In 1548 the British Parliament passed laws which exempted those who fished in Newfoundland waters from any taxation on the profits of their voyages. Some years later this was confirmed, and an additional encouragement was given to the fisheries whereby everyone was expected to eat fish every Wednesday and Saturday. Failure to comply with this law meant a fine of fifteen dollars or three months' imprisonment. No doubt the framers of this law had the best of intentions; but although the British are a

The Cod-Fishery

law-abiding nation, they resent any interference with their liberties in matters which they consider non-essential. In this case they thought they ought to be allowed to decide for themselves what they were to eat not only on five days a week but on seven days a week. The law, which was largely disregarded, was repealed after eighteen years.

Since this plan had failed, some other means had to be found of helping the English fishing industry. The next scheme was to put an import duty on all foreign fish and to prohibit Englishmen from bringing into the country fish caught in foreign waters, but the law did not apply to two of the chief foreign fishing grounds, Newfoundland and Iceland.

In spite of such encouragements the English fishery did not make as much progress as did that of its competitors. About eighty years after the first ship went to Newfoundland, there were only 50 English vessels as compared with 150 French, 100 Spanish, and 50 Portuguese; yet in spite of their smaller numbers the English, we are told, took command of the harbours they occupied and compelled the foreigners to give them salt for curing their fish.

It was about this time that we find the first mention of lobsters; a British merchant said "that in half a day he could take as many lobsters as would find (provide) 300 men with a day's meat." Evidently both cod-fish and lobsters were in great abundance in those days.

The Fishing Admirals. In the spring of each year when the fleets began to arrive in the various harbours of the east coast, the custom was that the first comer was allowed

The Story of Newfoundland

to choose any portion of the shore where he might cure his fish. This was not satisfactory because the place selected might have been used the previous year by another man, a man who had possibly been at some pains to erect good stages and flakes, and who, happening to arrive later, might have to accept a "room" with no erections on it at all; he would then have to spend his time making new stages and flakes only to find the following spring that they had been taken by someone else. This led to bitter quarrels and endless disputes. It was not until 1582 that a change was made whereby a room selected by the master of a vessel might be retained from year to year as long as he kept buildings on it and used it for the fishery. This put an end to dissatisfaction and gave the merchants a more permanent interest in the country. The leaving of winter crews to protect and improve property became more common.

Progress. So the humble fishery went on from year to year, having little place in the pages of written history but making a good living for the fishermen and in some cases great wealth for the merchants. On the whole the men of different nations worked side by side in friendly rivalry and competition. The chief cause of trouble was the frequent raids made by pirates, usually on ships of a different nationality from their own. When, however, war broke out between two of the European countries, there was conflict between the fishermen of these countries and many a fight took place. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth there was war between England and Spain, and the defeat of the famous Spanish Armada had the effect of withdrawing all the Spanish vessels from the Newfoundland fishery. For

The Cod-Fishery

the next forty years the English fishery made rapid strides, so that soon England had twice as many ships as her rivals, now only France and Portugal.

In little over a century after the discovery of Newfoundland there were two hundred and fifty vessels sailing annually from England to Newfoundland to engage in fishing, and there was a profitable trade with Spain and Italy, so much so that Sir Francis Bacon said on one occasion that the fisheries "contained richer treasures than the mines of Mexico and Peru," where there were large quantities of silver. There were then only about three hundred and fifty families in permanent residence, but many thousands came to the coast every spring to return in the autumn to their native shores.

The First Settlers. At first the homes of the settlers consisted of log cabins or rude huts; but as time went on, more substantial houses were built, and the various buildings required in the fishing industry occupied, in the case of large businesses, a considerable amount of land. Many of the planters, because of the profitable trade they carried on, became wealthy, especially in St. John's, Carbonear, and Harbour Grace. Besides having all the buildings and equipment necessary for fishing, the planters cleared land, cultivated it, and kept horses, cattle, and sheep. To such people the orders which came from England for them to leave the country or remove to a place at least six miles from the coast was a crushing blow. In many cases the patient and strenuous work of a lifetime was wiped out in a few hours. One man said of this period that "1500 men in the harbour of St. John's will hardly make good the

The Cod-Fishery

damage done there in three weeks besides the loss of goods which they violently take away.”

More Laws. It appears contradictory at first sight, that at the time this was going on efforts were being made to encourage the fisheries; but, as we have seen, the encouragement was being given to the English merchants and not to the settlers, the persecution of whom was supposed to be for their benefit. In 1660 Charles II issued a proclamation for the strict observance of Lent, giving as one reason that this would help the fishermen. This move was no more successful than that of Queen Elizabeth. The Puritans, acting in accordance with their religious principles, flatly refused to observe Lent at all, and since they could not be imprisoned in thousands for failure to obey the law, the law itself became a dead letter.

In the same year a more reasonable law was made by which salt and all other articles used in the fishery were exempted from taxation. A year or two later heavy duties were placed on fish and all other products of the sea coming from foreign countries. These measures did much to help the English fishery for a time, but another factor arose to wipe out any gain that had been made and, indeed, to cause a serious decline in the fishery; this was the occupation of Placentia by the French and the frequent encounters between British and French vessels resulting in the loss of many ships. By the end of the seventeenth century the number of vessels engaged in the fishery had fallen from 250 to 80, and the price of fish had risen by about 50 per cent. In the year 1705 only 72,000 quintals of fish were exported.

The Cod-Fishery

Varying Success. From the records of the history of the country we gather that in one respect at least the fishery has not changed all down through the years, and that is its uncertainty. There have been good seasons and bad seasons. The reason for failure in any particular year would probably not be the same as that for another year; now it would be lack of bait, again it might be stormy weather, or again the weather would not be good for drying fish. Some years there was abundance on all the grounds, but there were years when the men on one part of the coast would be successful while elsewhere the fish did not appear. This is bound to be true of an industry that depends so largely on natural conditions. In addition, there have always been variations in the price obtained for fish in the world's markets, and this factor also is not within the control of the fishermen. The result of all this has been that there have been years of plenty followed by years of poverty; and when a number of poor years have come in succession, there has been distress and misery. Some were careful during the successful years to save money to help them to weather the lean years; but there were others who had not the foresight to do this, and they had to be assisted if they were to be kept alive.

About the time that George I acceded to the throne of Great Britain (1714), the fishery was definitely on the up-grade. In that year 150,000 quintals of fish were exported; this was more than double the amount exported nine years previously. This was one result of peace. The Treaty of Utrecht had been signed the year before (see Chapter VIII); the danger of French invasion and of encounters between the fishermen of the rival nations was

The Story of Newfoundland

now of the past, and those who had refused to face such risks now returned to take up the fishery again.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the fishery flourished, and at the middle of the century the catch was about 430,000 quintals, an increase of three times in the space of less than forty years. The years of peace had also been years of prosperity. Peace had meant, too, not only absence of invasion by an enemy nation, but also a certain measure of internal peace due to the belated appointment of a governor in 1729. There had been a gradually improving order in the country, and although the magistrates who had been appointed were by no means so efficient as such officials ought to be, they did in many cases establish law and order in their communities. These conditions, although far from being all that could be desired, were such an improvement that the fishery continued to flourish, and in 1765 it was estimated that the catch was over half a million quintals. It must be remembered, however, that these figures cannot be accurate, as there was no attempt made to obtain returns from each boat or each settlement. If this estimate of half a million quintals is even nearly correct, it must have meant great prosperity, for at that time there were probably only about 25,000 people all told, men, women, and children, engaged in the fishery. Compare this with the present when at least 130,000 human beings are directly dependent on the sale of some 1,200,000 quintals of fish.

Sir Hugh Palliser. One of the most active of the early Newfoundland governors was Sir Hugh Palliser. He was a good business man, he took a great interest in Labrador,

The Cod-Fishery

he dealt firmly with the French; but he is chiefly remembered because of a new act drawn up by him after his return to England, an act which is usually referred to as Palliser's Act. This act encouraged the fishery by giving bounties of \$200 to each of the first 25 ships to land, before July 15, at least 10,000 fish caught on the Banks after making two trips, and \$100 each to the next 100 vessels. These bonuses were to be given only to British ships coming from Europe so that the rebellious American colonists would not benefit. These valuable bounties were intended to cause an increase in the Banks fishery, and they succeeded in doing so. Palliser, however, considered Newfoundland fit only to be regarded as a fishing station, and the act contained regulations intended to discourage settlement. One of these was that the fishermen who went out from England should receive only half of their wages during the season, and the other half on their return to England. This, of course, if it had been strictly carried out, would have effectively prevented desertion from the ships; but the merchants did not like interference with what they regarded as their own private business, and they broke the law whenever they could.

War. In the opening years of the nineteenth century, Britain and France were at war; but its effects were not felt in Newfoundland, which at this time was peaceful and prosperous. The fishery was successful, more than usually so, because during the war the French did not visit the fishing grounds and our own fishermen were protected from their rivals, particularly the Americans, by the British Navy. In 1804, at a time when the population was

The Story of Newfoundland

increasing rapidly owing to a large immigration, over 600,000 quintals of cod-fish were taken, of which all but 50,000 quintals were exported. The salmon fishery was also flourishing in a small way, for in the same year it was reported that 1197 tierces were caught and sold at good prices. The herring fishery was very small, consisting of only 90 barrels caught at Trepassey and a smaller amount in Fortune Bay.

The century which opened so well was destined before long to see a setback. As a result of the Napoleonic Wars all trade between European countries and Britain and her possessions was stopped. Thus Newfoundland's fish were barred from her principal markets; fish were plentiful, but they could not be sold. This was a serious state of affairs. The merchants petitioned the British Government to give a bounty for every quintal of dried cod-fish, every tun of oil, every tierce of salmon, and every barrel of herring exported to Britain or to her possessions. They also put forth the ingenious suggestion that $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of dried cod-fish should be given each week to every soldier in the army and to every sailor in the navy, 3 pounds to every prisoner of war, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds to every inmate of the poorhouses. This suggestion was not acted upon; but two months after it was made, the war came to an end and trade was resumed with Spain.

From the breaking out of the Second American War in 1812 to the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 was a prosperous time for Newfoundland. Large quantities of fish were caught, the weather was suitable for curing, and the prices obtained for fish were higher than they had ever been before. Merchants made fortunes, and fisher-

The Cod-Fishery

men made very high wages, which they spent freely. The news of this prosperity spread, and people flocked to the country. In 1814 nearly 7000 immigrants arrived in Newfoundland. In four years the population of St. John's increased by 50 per cent.

The end of the French and the American wars, however, saw also the end of this flourishing period. With a suddenness that caught everyone unprepared, prices collapsed, many merchants were ruined, and the fishermen were reduced to poverty. The details of this dreary time are given in Chapter VII.

The Credit System. One cannot think about the fishery of Newfoundland either of the present day or of the past without thinking also of what is usually called the credit system whereby the merchant issues supplies to the fishermen in the spring and is repaid at the end of the season in fish. It is impossible to say when the system began, but it probably arose out of the fact that the merchant who exported fish also sold provisions and fishing gear. At the beginning of the season a man with no money to buy food and with no fishing gear would make a bargain with the merchant; if the latter would supply him with all he required, he would repay the debt out of the fish he caught. From the man's point of view this was at first at any rate a good arrangement because his living for the summer was assured whether or not he caught any fish; it was the merchant who took all the risk. The merchant tried to ensure himself against loss by charging higher prices when giving credit than he would have charged for cash, so that any profit he made from one man would cover loss arising

The Story of Newfoundland

from the failure of another man. These extra prices amounted in some cases to as much as 25 per cent, as shown by lists of prices ruling in 1805. The system, although it later led to great evils, was for a long time reasonably successful. In a poor season the merchant often advanced supplies not only in the spring but also throughout the winter, sometimes with very little hope of ever being repaid. On the other hand, men who were unlucky often piled up debts which they could hardly hope to repay and became in course of time almost the slaves of the merchants. Some of the more reckless and improvident of the people did not seem to mind this state of affairs. As long as they could obtain a living, they were satisfied; but it fell with particular harshness on the better type of man who, in spite of hard work, sometimes fell into debt as a result of several poor seasons. Men of independent spirit became discouraged at their lack of success. Even industrious and successful men had reason to complain because they knew that the profit which the merchant was making on them was higher than it would have been if others had been as hard-working or as lucky as themselves. Thus there was dissatisfaction all around.

From many parts of the country came complaints of the greed and harshness of some merchants. There are records of petitions sent to the governors and to magistrates from Burin, Placentia, and Fogo. They were all in the same strain; men working like slaves and driven to despair at finding themselves at the end of the season either in debt or with no profit. The merchant set high prices on food and other goods and low prices on fish; and if the men complained, they were left to starve during



Stages at a Fishing Village¹

the winter. Some governors were sympathetic and sent reports to England on the subject; but nothing was done, and, indeed, it is difficult to see what could have been done.

Some of these features remain at the present time. For more than a century it has been realized that this system leads to very undesirable results, but not until recently have better methods of conducting the fishery been tried with success. In 1935 the government began to organize in several outports co-operative buying of supplies and co-operative selling of fish, but this could not

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The Story of Newfoundland

be done on a large scale as long as there were thousands of fishermen in debt.

One of the worst evils arising from the credit system and one which it will take a long time to remove is what is called pauperism. Some people, having become accustomed to look to the merchants for all necessary supplies, found that a time came when no further supplies were forthcoming. Because of the debt which had already been piled up, the merchant feared that the issue of more goods would simply mean adding to the debt. In such cases the destitute people turned elsewhere for help, and funds were collected to save them from starvation. This, however, could not be kept up year after year, and there came a time when the government had to set aside money for poor relief. Thus began what is now referred to as "dole." In the middle of the nineteenth century no less than one third of the public revenue was given out as dole, and in recent years the total has reached as high as a million and a half dollars.

Uncertainty of the Fishery. Newfoundland has seen many ups and downs in her varied career, and the changes have been caused in nearly every case by the varying success of the fishery. An industry that depends on so many uncertain factors is bound to show such changes: the fish may not appear on the usual grounds; there may be a scarcity of bait; the weather may not be suitable for curing; and even if all these factors are favourable, the prices in the foreign markets may be so low that they do not give a profit on the year's working. From time to time we find one or more of these factors adverse, but when



Taking Up the Fish after Drying¹

it happened that all were favourable the people prospered. Such was the case in 1814, for example, when over 1,200,000 quintals of fish were caught and sold at a profit. Since in the same year over 156,000 seals were killed, everybody was prosperous and happy.

In 1836, three years after the granting of Representative Government, the uncertain factors were favourable; nearly 900,000 quintals of fish were caught and 384,000 sealskins were exported. Some 30,000 men were engaged in the fishery, and a flourishing trade was carried on with nearly every maritime nation in Europe and with Brazil

¹Newfoundland Tourist Development Board.

The Story of Newfoundland

and the West Indies. In addition to this, 350 vessels went "to the ice" in search of seals and carried 14,000 men.

Another very prosperous period happened to come during the first five years of Responsible Government, and this was regarded as a good omen for the future of the country. Alas! there followed a period of eight years during which the fishery was a partial failure, and the people, having no reserves to fall back upon, were reduced to a state of poverty and destitution that called for government assistance on a large scale. It was not till 1869 that a good catch was again secured, and this was followed by a succession of good years culminating in a record catch in 1874, making an average for five years of over 1,300,000 quintals. Inevitably the poor years came again, and in 1876 the Government had to grant bounties to the Banks fishermen, which continued for five years with good results. In 1881 the quantity of fish taken amounted to over 1,500,000 quintals, one of the largest catches in the history of Newfoundland.

The question began to be asked about this time, whether the limits of the cod-fishery had been reached. Were some of the grounds being overfished? Some of the bays, notably Conception Bay, where cod was formerly abundant, were now found to be unproductive. At the same time the Grand Banks did not show any sign of exhaustion; in fact, in spite of the enormous drain on them for over four centuries, the fishery, on an average, is now as prolific as ever. The largest catch ever obtained was in 1908, when 1,732,387 quintals were exported. It is estimated that the total annual catch of cod in North American waters by all the fishermen from Europe and

The Cod-Fishery

North America amounts to about 4,000,000 quintals, which, allowing 50 fish to a quintal, means 200,000,000 fish taken every year.

Recent Years. The history of the fishery as shown in the foregoing pages has been one of ups and downs, good years followed by bad years, and so it has continued up to the present. During the First World War, 1914-1918, there was a period of high prices, and both merchants and fishermen made large profits. This was followed by a slump in prices, from which there was a partial recovery. Conditions seemed to be just becoming normal again, when about 1930 the world-wide depression began. This in itself would have been serious enough; but when it was accompanied by a series of poor fishing years, it caused widespread poverty and distress, necessitating the distribution of large sums of money in poor relief.

The war between Abyssinia and Italy and the civil war in Spain deprived Newfoundland of two important markets, and it was some time before fish could be sold to either Italy or Spain. In attempting to improve the situation the Commission of Government tried to find ways of making the people less dependent upon the fishery. Land settlement was one of these. At the same time the fishery was not neglected. Bait depots were built, assuring the fishermen of a ready supply of bait. Cheaper fuel and a rebate on the price of salt were allowed and duties were taken off many supplies. The government also undertook the building of fishing vessels for a time, but later changed to paying bonuses or bounties to fishermen for fishing vessels large enough to qualify.

The Story of Newfoundland

In 1936 the Newfoundland Fisheries Board was set up. This Board was given full control over all branches of the fishery. Some improvements it introduced were the compulsory inspection of fish and fish premises, the standardization of grading, and the licensing of fish exporters. Along with this went an attempt to educate the fishermen to the need for proper care in the handling of fish as an article of food. Conferences were held at which representatives of the fishermen, fish exporters, and Board officials discussed many problems and reached important decisions. By setting up a group marketing board made up of fish exporters and by studying market conditions, the Board has been able to control shipments and so obtain better prices. To help do this, representatives have been placed in important fish markets. Finally, the Fisheries Board formed the Newfoundland Association of Fish Exporters Limited (NAFEL) which, through the presence of its chairman at world conferences, has been able to secure real advantages for Newfoundland in world markets. Newfoundland has also been able to share in the activities of the Combined Food Board and other relief organizations, such as the International Emergency Food Council.

New methods of processing and marketing fish promise well for the future. Salting and drying fish used to be the only means of preserving it. Now much fish is being canned or frozen for market. Modern plants, capable of freezing as much as 100,000 pounds of fresh fish daily, are now operating at St. John's, Burin, Harbour Grace, St. Anthony, Port aux Basques, and other places. In addition to cod, large quantities of haddock, flounder, and other species are also frozen for export. The com-

The Cod-Fishery

panies have their own modern draggers to supply the freezing plants.

The herring and lobster fisheries have been given special study by the Fishery Research Bureau. Fishermen have profits from large contracts for herring granted by international war agencies. The export of live lobsters by air to the mainland is a very recent development; in 1948 well over 3,000,000 pounds were exported in this way. Considerable income is also derived from the sale of cod, herring, seal, and whale oil.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Name the countries from which fishermen came to fish in Newfoundland waters in the years immediately succeeding John Cabot's discovery.

2. Compare the method used in ship fishing in the early days with those used now.

3. Name the various methods adopted by the British Government to encourage the fishery. Why were they not successful?

4. What have been the effects of war on the Newfoundland fishery (*a*) during war? (*b*) after war?

5. What were Palliser's plans for encouraging the fishery?

6. What are the advantages and the disadvantages of the credit system?

7. What are the uncertain factors that affect the fishery?

8. What steps have recently been taken to make the fishery less uncertain?

9. Find out all you can about (*a*) the export of frozen fish; (*b*) the manufacture of herring oil; (*c*) the lobster fishery.

CHAPTER SIX

The Seal Hunt

Beginnings. The story of the annual seal-fishery, or more correctly seal hunt since the seal is not a fish, is one of the most romantic in the history of Newfoundland; and while it is now only a shadow of its former self, it still holds an important place in the yearly calendar of the country. Its beginnings are buried in the distant and unrecorded past. Probably it dates back to the time of the early settlers who saw in the seal a means of augmenting their earnings from the cod-fishery.

At first the seals were caught from the shore in nets which were secured to the sea floor or to the sides of headlands. Later small boats were used, and gradually the size of the boats increased till schooners came to be employed. When hunting from boats began, the seals were either clubbed or shot on the ice-floes or in the sea, the guns used being the old muzzle-loaders, which were about eight feet long and which required an assistant to carry the powder-horn and the bullets or slugs.

The first year about which there is now any definite information is 1749, when the value of the oil exported was over \$5000. Nineteen years later the value of the oil was over \$60,000, which represented a very considerable catch. The seal hunt vies with the cod-fishery in its uncertainty; with wind and weather favourable there has usually been a good catch, but with adverse weather con-



Cutting Channels through the Ice in St. John's Harbour in 1854

ditions there have been small returns. The years 1816–1818 may be taken as an example of this. The catches were as follows: 1816—147,009 seals; 1817—37,338 seals; 1818—165,622 seals. The reason for the comparative failure in 1817 was that the whole coast was shut up by fields of ice, so that all navigation was stopped for a period of nearly three months, and the sealing vessels were prevented from putting to sea at the proper time. A few years previously a succession of north-easterly gales during the sealing season caused the wreck of twenty-five vessels. There have been times, too, when the seals could not be found in large numbers.

Varying Success. Sealing from the shore depended for its success on north-east winds to drive the seals inshore on the ice-floes. It was about 1793 that schooners first began

The Story of Newfoundland

to go in search of the seal. At first the vessels were only of 20 to 40 tons; but as the years went on, they were built larger and larger till some reached 160 tons. They were manned by from 25 to 40 men according to size. At one time as many as 400 vessels went "to the ice" in the spring, carrying over 13,000 men. The number of seals taken varied considerably from year to year; the figures for a few years in the nineteenth century are as follows:

1815.....	141,370	1852.....	534,378
1825.....	221,510	1862.....	268,624
1831.....	559,342	1871.....	537,094
1842.....	344,683	1880.....	223,795
1844.....	685,530	1882.....	200,500

The year 1844 was a record one, and the record still stands today. The period 1840-1860 was probably the best there has ever been for the seal hunt; it acted as a tonic to the whole country. The building and repairing of schooners and boats, the fitting out of the vessels, and the making of punts, oars, and gaffs kept masters and crews hard at work all winter, and a season that used to be one of idleness and pleasure-seeking became one of laborious toil. The wealth of the settlements from which the seal hunt was carried on increased as a result of this boom.

The year 1862 saw the whole coast again blockaded with ice. For weeks and weeks north-east winds blew continually, driving the ice on the land. The sealing vessels could not leave port. This ill wind, however, did somebody good, for the ice with thousands of seals "on board" was blown into Green Bay and brought unexpected wealth to men all along the north coast. Nearly 270,000 seals were caught from the land.



*The Seal Hunt*¹

The Introduction of Steamers. The following year a new era in the history of the seal hunt began when steamers were used for the first time. The decline that set in about this time is attributed by some to the introduction of steamers; on the other hand, some contend that the large number of seals taken in the previous dozen years or more was the real reason for the decline. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that ever since this time the number of seals caught in any one year has seldom exceeded 200,000. The number of sailing vessels gradually decreased. A schooner is dependent on wind and cannot butt its way through ice; indeed, it was a common practice for the crew to pull it through the ice, which often had to be cut or blasted with gunpowder to allow a passage. Nowadays powerful steel ships made specially for ice-breaking are

¹After Hatton and Harvey, *Newfoundland*.



Modern Sealing Vessels Leaving for the Ice Fields¹

sometimes employed, the first having been used in 1906; but the majority of the fleet are wooden steamers.

Berth Money. Except in this one respect, that is, the kind of vessel used, the seal hunt now is very much the same as it was a century ago. For the weeks preceding the sailing date food and other supplies are stowed away on board, any necessary repairs are carried out, men to the number of from 150 to 250 per vessel, who have been signed on weeks ahead, make their way to St. John's, and at the beginning of March the ships steam northward, leaving to the accompaniment of hooting sirens and cheering crowds.

¹ This picture and the one on the opposite page from The Holloway Studio, Ltd.

The Seal Hunt

In former years what was known as berth money caused friction between sealers and the owners of vessels, and strikes took place on several occasions before an agreement was reached satisfactory to both sides. Before the introduction of steamships, the owners supplied the vessels with provisions and everything necessary for the voyage. One half of the catch was divided among the crew and the other half was retained by the owner. Crews had to pay from ten shillings (\$2.50) to thirty shillings (\$7.50) for a berth; but the price was later raised to £3, 10s. (\$17.50), and in 1842 this resulted in a strike. The sealers to the number of 2000, with flags flying and accompanied by a fiddler and a drummer, held a meeting on the barrens outside St. John's and demanded a reduction of the berth money.

A Sealing Crew on the Ice



The Story of Newfoundland

Their demands were granted. Again in 1860 there was a strike by men at Brigus; they demanded the abolition of berth money altogether, but this time they were not successful.

In 1902 one of the most memorable strikes in the history of sealing took place in St. John's. About 4000 men left the ships and held a parade which blocked all traffic on Water Street. Among the demands made by the strikers were a higher price for fat and the abolition of berth money. The strike continued for two days, and when the merchants resisted their demands, the strikers threatened to pull the ships ashore. They did actually attach a hawser to one of the ships and lined up, but someone cut the hawser. After this berth money was never again charged.

The Hunt. The young seals are born on the ice from the fifteenth to the twenty-fifth day of February, and they grow rapidly. As these "whitecoats" yield a much finer oil than the old seals, the object of the hunters is to reach them in their babyhood. So quickly do they increase in bulk, that by about the twentieth day of March they are in perfect condition. The great arctic current carries past the shores of Newfoundland hundreds of square miles of floating ice. Somewhere in this vast expanse are the herds of whitecoats, and the sealers must seek till they find their prey. Having struck a patch of seals, the steamer "burns down," that is, its fires are banked. The crew goes overboard on the ice each with his gaff, a long pole six or seven feet in length with a hook at one end. The gaff serves the triple purpose of a weapon to club seals, of an ice-pole to help the men in leaping from pan to pan, that is, from

The Seal Hunt



A "Whitecoat," or Young Seal¹

one little island of ice to another, and as a means of dragging the pelts over the ice. As soon as a seal is killed, the skin, with about three inches of fat adhering to it, is cut from the carcass; the pelts are piled in a "pan," with the ship's flag on a pole to mark the place, and later they are dragged to the ship and stowed away in the hold.

Disasters. The success of sealing depends very largely on the weather. The heavy arctic ice may close in under the pressure of a north-easter, and bergs and floes may growl and crash all around, threatening the ship with destruction, till a change of wind loosens the icy prisoning walls. Occasionally it happens that a storm suddenly arises when the men are on the ice and at a considerable distance from the ship, and in such a case there may be serious loss of life.

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The Story of Newfoundland

One disaster was that of the *Catherine* in 1840, a sailing vessel, which struck a growler, or small iceberg, one stormy night and foundered with all hands except two, who had a remarkable escape. These two men climbed into the rigging of the ship as it sank, and just as they reached the top-gallant yard, it touched a pan of ice on which they clambered and from which they were later rescued.

In 1852 there occurred "The Spring of the Wadhams," when no fewer than forty sailing vessels were smashed on the rocks by ice driven by a terrific gale. Others caught fire because their stoves were upset by the gale. Fortunately all the crews were saved, though they had to exist for about a week on barren islands before rescue came. Twelve years later a similar storm crushed twenty-six vessels, and one hundred and forty more remained jammed till the end of April.

In the days of sail it was the custom, after the young seals had taken to the water, to hunt them in punts in the "lanes" of an open floe. In 1868, while the crew of one of the vessels were thus engaged, they were caught in a sudden storm, and twenty-six were either frozen to death or crushed between the ice-pans.

The year 1896 saw a very stormy spring. Four steamers were completely crushed and overwhelmed by ice, and eight others had to be assisted back to port. One was badly nipped by heavy ice, one had her bows "stove in," one struck an iceberg in a fog and nearly sank, and the others were leaking badly as a result of their battle with the ice.

Probably the worst of all the sealing disasters occurred in 1898. The *Greenland* was in the midst of a large patch

The Seal Hunt

and had 154 men on the ice seal-hunting. With little warning a terrific gale and blizzard sprang up jamming the ship immovably in the floe. The tremendous force of the hurricane made the ship tip right over, the lee bulwarks being actually smashed against the ice. To add to the difficulties and discomforts, it became intensely cold. As if this were not sufficient, a huge lake several miles wide formed in the ice and separated the men from the ship. Such was the fury of the gale that for over twenty-four hours no boat could be taken to the edge of the lake. Even if it could have been taken there and an attempt made to cross to the other side, it would have been engulfed. The men were completely isolated. From the barrel of the ship glimpses were caught from time to time of the men running to and fro in an effort to keep from freezing. By and by the storm abated somewhat, and after a gallant struggle 100 men were saved, 65 of them being badly frostbitten. The lull, however, did not last long enough to allow the rescue to be completed. The gale again increased and to such a fury that the boats could make no headway and the effort had to be abandoned till another lull came. When at last the remaining men were reached, they were all dead.

A similar situation occurred in 1934, but this time fortunately there were no deaths. A ship commanded by Captain A. Kean was jammed, and soon a lake formed between him and his crew on the ice. He wirelessly to Captain Blackwood, who picked up the men and took them to their ship.

The year 1914 was another year of storms, and there were two serious sealing disasters. The *Southern Cross*, which, it is interesting to notice, was built for Sir Ernest

The Story of Newfoundland

Shackleton for his antarctic explorations, was returning from the Gulf of St. Lawrence with a full load of seals. She was reported from Cape Pine, but this was the last news that was ever heard of her. She must have sunk in the open sea with all her hands, numbering 173.

The second disaster of the year occurred to the *Newfoundland*. This ship had her crew on the ice when one of those sudden, blinding, and icy blizzards arose which cut off the men completely from their ship. Some men almost miraculously managed to live for two days in that shelterless waste exposed to the pitiless storm, but by the time help reached them 77 of the crew were dead.

Disasters to ships owing to internal trouble have not been so common. In 1874 an early member of the steam fleet was severely damaged and twenty-five men were killed when her boilers exploded. A more recent disaster of a similar kind occurred in 1931, when the *Viking* was partly destroyed off Horse Islands by an explosion of gunpowder, after which she caught fire and finally sank. Twenty-four men lost their lives, including some who were making a film of the seal hunt. Wireless telegraphy, which has been in use on the sealing ships since 1916, proved its great usefulness on this occasion; for, within an hour or two of the receipt of the news of the catastrophe, relief ships were steaming northward with food, doctors, and nurses.

In all these tragic events there are stories of hardships heroically endured and deeds of gallantry and self-sacrifice, many of them unrecorded and unrecognized. Even the ordinary routine of the sealer's life calls for physical endurance and hardihood of a high order. The cramped quarters on the ship, the rough fare, the usually intense

The Seal Hunt



The Sealing Vessel Viking on Her Last Voyage

cold, the dangers of moving about in loose ice, all these in addition to the possibility of encountering storms and of having the ship damaged by ice make sealing, or "swiling" as it is often called, one of the most risky occupations in the world and one of the most uncomfortable. Yet the number applying for berths every year is much greater than the number of berths available. The spirit of adventure, and not merely the opportunity of earning some money, much as that is needed, appeals strongly to the Newfoundlander.

The Return. Before the days of wireless there was no news of the sealing vessels from the time they left port till the first ship returned. There was much anxiety and speculation, rumours of success and of failure, and over all uncertainty and suspense. Lookout men in the old Block-

The Story of Newfoundland

house on Signal Hill searched the horizon for signs of smoke from the sealers and signalled news to the town by means of flags. The first ship to return received a boisterous welcome from the cheering crowds, and the cheers of the crew accompanied by the blowing and screeching of whistle and siren re-echoed from the Southside Hills. If she had a full load of fat, she would be low in the water. It is said that in 1872 one ship was so loaded down with pelts, which occupied every nook and cranny of the vessel, that the men could wash their hands in the sea over her bulwarks. The captain had towed 600 pelts behind him till he reached Conception Bay, when he considered it safe to take them on board. The ship itself was only 290 tons, but it carried 655 tons of fat.

Now, regular daily reports are received by wireless from each vessel, and these are published in the newspapers and also broadcast from a local radio station. Thus we know from day to day how the sealing vessels are progressing, and their return does not possess the thrill it used to.

The Luck of the Game. Every year has its own tales of the seal hunt. In 1905 a famous sealer, Captain Arthur Jackman, in the *Eagle*, on leaving St. John's steered a course almost due south, exactly opposite from that of all the rest of the fleet. He loaded up south-east of Cape Race. Then, and this is the curious part of the story, another vessel which had steamed north was blown southward by a strong northerly wind, and when the weather cleared found itself near the *Eagle* in the midst of a patch of seals. These were the only two ships to get a full load that year.

The Seal Hunt

This illustrates the part sometimes played by luck in the seal hunt.

In 1921 the seal hunt was further modernized by the use of the aeroplane for locating the seals. Even though the main patch of seals may be found, it does not mean that the ships will be able to force their way to them. However, the aeroplane is now looked upon as necessary to the hunt. Each year experienced ice-hunters fly over the ice-fields, reporting by wireless to the captains of the ships the position of the seals.

At present the industry is not as important as it was formerly. During the period after the First World War it remained fairly steady, but it fell to a low ebb during the Second World War. In 1943 there were no steamers out. In the past few years the industry has rallied, and in 1948 four steamers and 21 motor vessels, manned by 1,035 men, brought in 141,971 seals.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. For what reasons does the catch of seals vary from year to year?
2. Did the introduction of steamers have any effect on the number of seals caught after 1863? What are the advantages of steamers?
3. Describe some of the dangers to which the sealers are exposed.
4. Describe any of the disasters mentioned in this chapter and include some imaginary details to make a good story of it.
5. In what ways has radio helped the seal hunt?
6. Why are men so anxious to go to the seal hunt when they suffer so much hardship and are exposed to dangers?

CHAPTER SEVEN

Living Conditions

Pioneer Days. What kind of people lived in Newfoundland in the earliest days, and under what conditions did they live? We have no definite information on these questions, but we can make guesses which are not likely to be far from the truth. We can imagine that before the days of restriction on settlement the owner of a fishing vessel had the idea that it would be a good plan to leave part of his crew for the winter in order to reserve his place in the harbour for the following season and to erect stages, flakes, and stores so that no time would be lost from the busy fishing season. It would be a daring experiment for men to spend a winter in an unknown country ; and with probably a crude house in which to live, they no doubt had some uncomfortable days and nights in the coldest part of the winter.

With the experience of the first year, however, they would be better prepared in the future to deal with the rigours of the weather. Soon it became the custom to leave behind winter crews consisting chiefly of carpenters and boat-builders. There was at that time abundance of timber close at hand, for the woods extended practically to the water's edge all round the coast. To supplement their stock of provisions they would have plenty of fish and game. These Devonshire men were born hunters and would have no difficulty in obtaining fresh meat. From the earliest days they planted vegetables in the spring, and

Living Conditions

it was not long before they took to rearing cattle and pigs. Some, having now an interest in the country, stayed on not as winter crews but as permanent settlers.

It is difficult for us nowadays to imagine life as it was in those faraway pioneer days. So many things that we deem necessities today were luxuries then or even unknown. The modern Newfoundlander consumes on an average five pounds of tea every year, and he would probably do without bread rather than without tea; but four hundred years ago tea was a luxury which only the rich could afford. Then people drank ale or cider, when they could get any. The commonest vegetable grown in Newfoundland today is the potato; but in those days of which we are now thinking the potato was only coming into general use, and the poorer people could not afford to buy it. At that time, too, Sir Walter Raleigh had not introduced tobacco into England, and for more than a century after the discovery of Newfoundland no tobacco was used in this country. The staple foods of those days were meats of all kinds, fish, bread, milk, and cheese. Most of the live-stock used to be killed near the beginning of winter, because they could not all be fed during the winter. The meat was either salted and dried or heavily spiced for winter use. In the poorer parts of the country, even as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, fish and hard bread were the staple food.

During the fishing season the thousands of fishermen who visited the shores of Newfoundland boarded in the cook-rooms attached to each fishing establishment. The men slept in bunks ranged around the walls like the berths on a ship, and a cook, usually an old fisherman, did the

The Story of Newfoundland

cooking for all. Four times a day rum was served to the men, and this practice continued till the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were few comforts, but in those days they were not expected; if the men could make a living, they were satisfied no matter how rough and ready their mode of life might be.

When the English merchants began to be alarmed at the number of people settling on the island and had laws passed to prevent settlement, some defiantly remained either living openly in St. John's or removing to some out-of-the-way cove where, they hoped, they would be undisturbed. Some found suitable homes in what might be called open roadsteads, which, owing to the fact that they were exposed to the open Atlantic could not safely be used by schooners. This explains the settlement of places like Bonavista, Grate's Cove, Pouch Cove, and Torbay.

The men who settled in this way were humble but hard-working fishermen, men who were undaunted in the face of difficulties, men who were skilful in all kinds of manual work, men of strength and courage. It is from these that the Newfoundlander of today inherits his skill in carpentering, his hardihood in the face of danger, and his general ability to turn his hand to any job. They built their own houses, fish-stores, stages, and boats, they tilled the land, they made footpaths connecting the settlements, they fished, they hunted, they cut their fuel, and so these hardy pioneers gradually established themselves in this faraway corner of the world. Men from the same town in the old country naturally settled together in the new, and we still find traces of the various dialects of south-western England in many Newfoundland settlements.

Living Conditions

Trouble for the Settlers. The picture of these original settlers is so far a pleasant one, but soon things cropped up to disturb their peace. First, there were the harsh laws against settlement, which changed respectable men into outlaws. Then there were among them undesirable men, dishonest, quarrelsome, drunken, who disturbed the peaceful community, and there were neither policemen to prevent disorder nor courts to punish those who caused it. There were sometimes ugly scenes and many crimes which the better people were powerless to stop. There were sometimes marked differences between the type of settler at places only a few miles apart, and this affected the habits and customs of these places for generations. The people who lived in Conception Bay were as different from those who lived in Trinity Bay as if they belonged to different nations. At one place the people might be coarse and crude; while at the next the people might be quiet, refined, and law-abiding.

When as a result of the Star Chamber rules issued in 1630 the system of Fishing Admirals was set up, matters went from bad to worse, because the ignorance and brutality of some of the skippers added injustice to all the other troubles. It is surprising that in these circumstances the settlers did not all go back to England or seek peace and liberty in New England. Some did, in fact, join the American colonists. In spite of all the hardships and restrictions the resident population steadily increased. The King could make rules, but he could not enforce them; the English merchants could influence the King, but they could not drive out the settlers, although they did succeed in making life almost unbearable for them.

The Story of Newfoundland

At the end of a century there was little to show in the way of ordered settlement; there was no system of government, there were no law courts, there were only a few settlers. Among the better elements in each little community there were wild and unruly fishermen freely supplied with rum, and occasionally there were scenes of disorder. Such scenes were naturally more frequent during the fishing season when the small resident population was increased by the influx of thousands of fishermen from overseas. Such conditions called for the strong hand of authority, and time and again the settlers petitioned the British Government for a governor and also for a clergyman. They were denied these reasonable requests because of the influence of the west-country merchants who thought that their own interests were best served by preventing settlement or at least by making the island their own particular fishing station.

The Irish. Until about the end of the seventeenth century those who settled in Newfoundland were Englishmen and Frenchmen, but then a new type of settler was introduced. On their annual voyages to the west the English ships began to call at Waterford and Cork in the south of Ireland in order to buy pork, beef, butter, and woollens, which goods could be bought more cheaply there than in England. This trade gradually increased. Combined with the growing trade with the New England colonies, it seriously affected the English trade. Another result was that Irish servants were engaged to go to Newfoundland, and this was the beginning of the Irish immigration, which, however, did not reach its height till a century later.

Living Conditions

The French. To add to the miseries of the settlers in St. John's, the French invasion in 1696 and the burning of the town sent them into hiding in the woods (see Chapter VIII). Their houses and their extensive fishing premises were reduced to ashes, and they were rendered homeless in midwinter. Those who sought refuge in the fort were forced to surrender and two hundred and twenty-four men, women, and children were huddled on a small vessel to face the stormy Atlantic. It took several years for St. John's to recover from this dreadful blow which left it an uninhabited ruin, a mere heap of ashes; but in the following year a beginning was made with rebuilding.

A Northward Movement. One result of the capture of St. John's by the French at the end of the seventeenth century and their subsequent destruction of many of the settlements on the Avalon peninsula was that some fishermen moved northward in search of suitable places where they might live and work undisturbed by the enemy. It was about this time that Twillingate, Exploits, and Fogo were first settled, and in the course of the next forty years these places became busy hives of industry. In 1738, it is recorded, twenty-one families in Fogo produced 19,000 quintals of fish, about \$3850 worth of seal oil, and \$1500 worth of furs. Sixteen families in Twillingate produced 12,000 quintals of fish, \$2200 worth of seal oil, and \$500 worth of furs. With earnings such as these, the people of these places may be considered as having been really prosperous, especially when we remember that the value of money was much greater in those days than now and also that necessary expenses were lower.

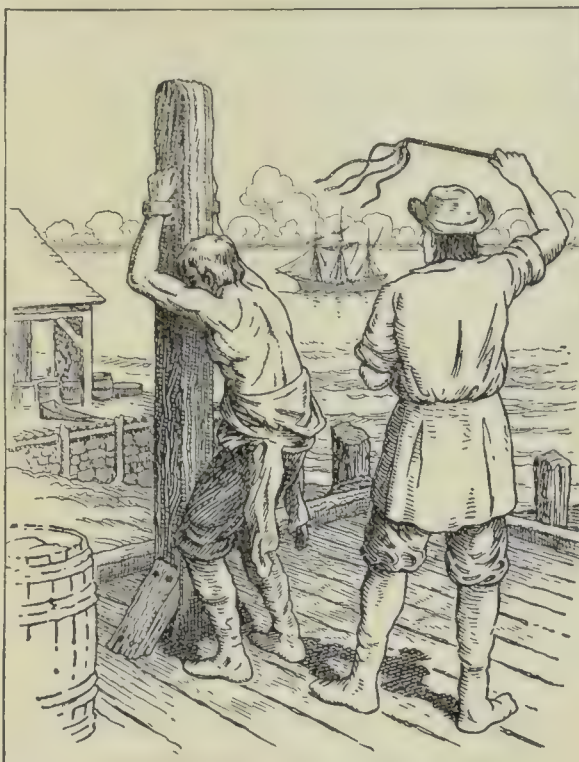
The Story of Newfoundland

Punishments. The first half of the eighteenth century gave promise of improvement in the terrible misrule of the country. The appointment of a governor in 1729 saw the beginning of a long struggle between him and his magistrates on the one hand and the English merchants and their Admirals on the other. The governors, even with the best of intentions, were bound by the laws laid down by the British Government. Slowly, very slowly, the right prevailed, but meanwhile the suffering people continued to suffer; life was hard and bitter for them. Forbidden to cultivate the soil, prevented from erecting stages till the English fishermen had selected the best places, they nevertheless clung to the New Land where adventures and dangers were sometimes their only reward.

If there was lawlessness and crime, that was only to be expected among a people living under such conditions, and the task of the governors in suppressing crime and restoring order was no easy one. One governor tried the plan of having gallows erected in every district in order that those who were inclined toward evil-doing might see the fate that awaited them if they persisted in their lawlessness. In those days hanging was a much more common punishment than it is now; even stealing often carried this penalty, if the value of what was stolen was \$10 or more. On one occasion a man was tried for stealing a lamb. He was convicted; but probably owing to influence of the clergyman, he was sentenced not to be hanged but to have his right hand burned with a red-hot iron. That was a cruel enough punishment, but it was really a light one according to the custom of the time. We have become more humane in our treatment of wrong-doers nowadays.

Living Conditions

Another example of the kind of punishments given was that inflicted on the ringleader of a riot at Harbour Grace in 1764. The sentence was that he "shall receive 3 dozen lashes on his bare back with a cat-o'-nine-tails at the admiral's stage at St. John's—and 3 dozen at the admiral's stage at Harbour Grace." Only five days were allowed between the lashings, and the man's sufferings can be more easily imagined than described.



Some Improvement.
The second half of the eighteenth century saw

*Respect for Law and Order Taught
at the Whipping Post*

the gradual decline of the power of the Fishing Admirals and the corresponding increase in the authority exercised by the governor and the magistrates. Newfoundland, after having been treated with injustice and cruelty for so many years, was at last beginning to assume the aspect of an ordered community. The old regulations were still in force, and occasionally a governor would assert his authority and order buildings and fences that had been illegally erected to be torn down, but the settlers usually found ways and means of doing what they wanted to do.

The Story of Newfoundland

There were, however, some real evils that called for correction. The amount of drunkenness was on the increase. In a few years the number of public houses and taverns in St. John's rose from less than half a dozen to eighty, with the result that these increased opportunities for securing liquor caused men to neglect their work with loss to themselves and to their employers. Some of the merchants and principal inhabitants of the town, in a petition sent to the British Parliament, suggested that the number of taverns should be restricted to twelve. They also suggested that no one who was not directly engaged in the fishery should be allowed to live in the country. This was intended as a blow at shopkeepers. The merchants had been accustomed to supply their men with all the goods they needed, and the shopkeepers had been taking away this source of profit to which the merchants considered themselves entitled. They also mentioned in the petition the large amount of winter unemployment caused by the fact that so many men remained at the end of the fishing season. These men were in the habit of breaking into shops and stores and taking what they wanted. Thus although matters were improving in the country, there was certainly room for much more improvement.

Disasters. In the year 1775 two disasters occurred which caused a serious setback to the country. One was a terrific storm which destroyed fishing property all round the coast. The sea suddenly rose twenty feet above its usual level, and three hundred people were drowned. There was also a great loss of property. The year is known in Newfoundland history as "The Year of the Great Storm."

Living Conditions

The other misfortune was the law passed by the new American Congress whereby nothing was allowed to be exported to Britain or to her possessions. This produced famine conditions in Newfoundland, which had been dependent on America for supplies of food and clothing, and the people were reduced almost to starvation before goods could be obtained from the other side of the Atlantic.

Coal. It is of interest to note that the first importation of coal into the island took place in 1784. For some years before this date the people of St. John's had been finding it more and more difficult to obtain firewood. The slopes behind the capital, which had once been well wooded, were now almost bare after nearly two hundred years of cutting, and the men had to go long distances for their fuel. The importation of coal from Sydney, Cape Breton, solved the problem.

Bishop O'Donnel. Owing to the attitude taken by some of the governors there had sprung up a very regrettable sectarian rivalry and even hatred in many parts of the country. It will serve no good purpose to tell the story of the origin of the quarrels, but the year 1784 must be noted as the beginning of better things. In that year the Governor issued a proclamation which allowed all persons to worship as they pleased. This wise action naturally had good results, but many years were to pass before the early quarrels were forgotten. One indirect result was that a good and wise man came to the country in the person of Bishop O'Donnel, whose influence for good in the community can hardly be overestimated. It has been said that his sojourn

The Story of Newfoundland

in the colony was of more importance than that of half a dozen governors. He brought peace and quiet and good order, and won the respect of people of all creeds. He met with much opposition, and he was often discouraged at his own lack of success ; but he accomplished more than he knew, for he exercised good judgment in bringing calm to those troublous times. Probably his greatest service to the country was in being the means of discovering the conspiracy to murder the whole population of St. John's as related in Chapter IV.

Charity. After religion, charity. The Governor of the day was astonished to find on his arrival in the country that the poor were not being well cared for. Some of the people who could afford it were generous and helped the poor, but the Governor thought that more could be done. He called a public meeting and laid plans before it whereby each person capable of doing so would contribute annually to a fund from which the poor would obtain relief. This was the first organization of its kind, and ever since funds have been provided either by the government or by individuals. In poor fishing seasons the amount of money required has been very much greater than the Governor who started the scheme ever thought it would be. In 1863 one third of the total government expenditure was for poor relief ; in 1936 it reached the huge total of nearly \$1,500,000.

Schools. The happier religious conditions and the provision made for charity were followed shortly by the establishment of the first schools in St. John's in 1799. Two of them, one for Roman Catholics and one for Protestants, were known as the St. John's Charity Schools. About this

Living Conditions

time the relations between the Governor and the church authorities seem to have been very cordial, and this effort to promote education was the result of a praiseworthy co-operation.

In order to raise funds to maintain these schools every head of a family from the governor downward was supposed to make a voluntary contribution according to his means.

The children were assembled every Sunday morning during the summer at seven o'clock and during the winter at nine o'clock to read the Scriptures and other good books and to learn the Catechism. After this they attended church. They met again in the afternoon to attend church and spent the rest of the day till six or seven o'clock in the schoolroom. School was also open on one weekday for an hour or two.

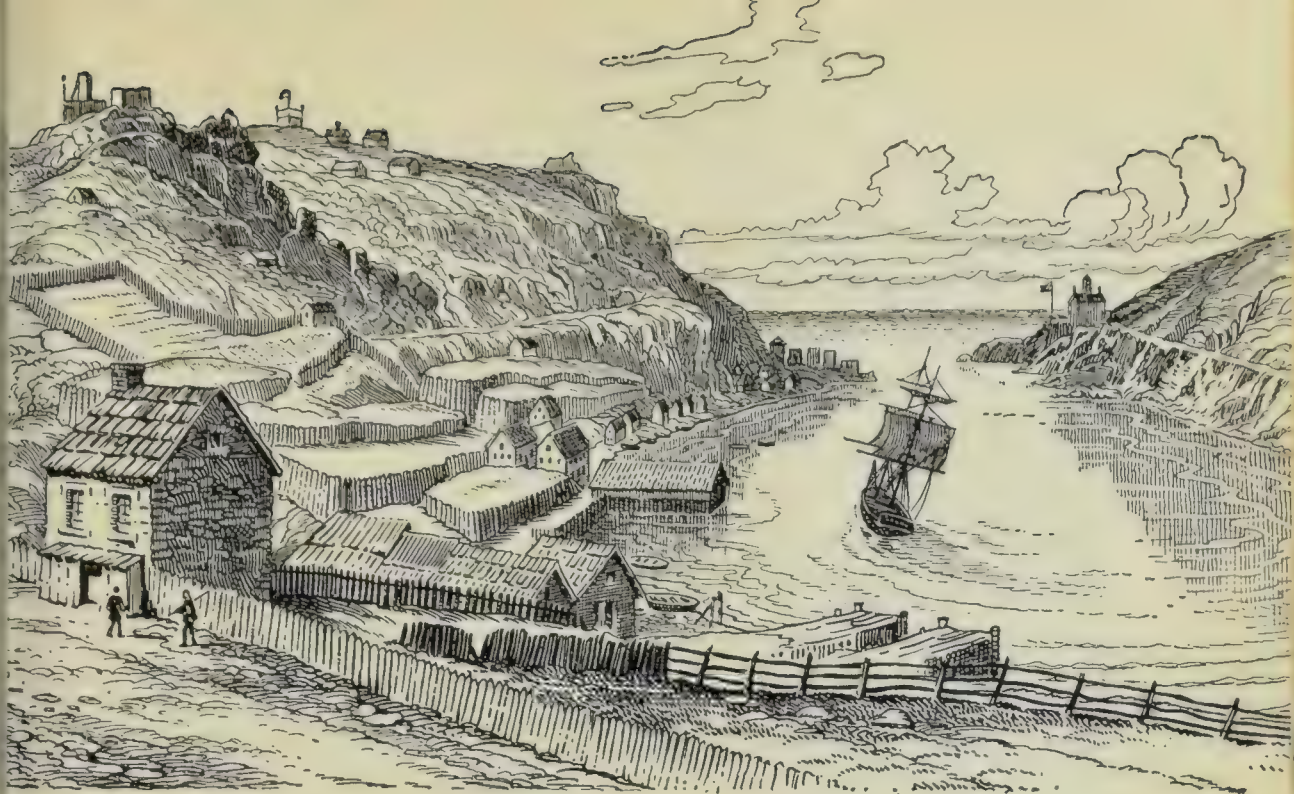
It was about this time that the first step was taken toward greater cleanliness. People were very careless about the disposal of their refuse, which was thrown on rubbish heaps or even on the street and allowed to rot, producing bad smells and providing breeding places for flies and disease germs. Epidemics occurred frequently, and several times that dread disease smallpox broke out and carried off hundreds of people. Some simple rules were made, such as burying any matter which was likely to become objectionable, and this led to some improvement.

A New Era. The end of the eighteenth century may be regarded as marking a turning-point in the history of Newfoundland. Great changes were dawning; a new era was beginning; a measure of justice was at last to be given to this unfortunate country. The argument of the west-country merchants backed up by the reports of governors

The Story of Newfoundland

that the island could not be cultivated, that it was a desolate and dreary country unfit for human habitation, had been the chief reason for the discouragement of settlement by the British Government. It is true that the settlements that had grown up were very unattractive ; the houses were of the meanest description, mostly erected during the winter when the governor was away, unpainted, and huddled close to some other building, the better to escape notice ; they were merely a ramshackle collection of huts. It is true also that while many of those who had settled in the country, especially those who had been brought by Guy and Calvert, were hard-working and intelligent men of the highest character, there were others who were fugitives from English and Irish justice and who introduced disturbing elements into the country. While these facts must be admitted, the fault lay not so much with the settlers as with those who determined the conditions under which the settlers had to live. The prohibition against remaining in the country and against cultivating the land, the lack of provision for religious and educational services, the fact that no form of government and no law courts had been provided, showed a complete disregard of the interests of the country on the part of the British authorities. Many generations were born, lived, and died without the advantages of religion, education, or law.

The records of the last half of the eighteenth century afford abundant evidence of widespread corruption and of a low standard of living which the more respectable sections of the settlers were powerless to correct. The coming of the representatives of the churches was the beginning of the movement for reform. This was further assisted by the



Old St. John's

View showing the Narrows, or entrance to the harbour¹

establishment of schools. Thus the downward tendency was checked, and the new century gave promise of better conditions. In two major respects, however, there was to be no improvement. One was the surrender to the claims of the French on the west coast, which was to be the cause of much future trouble, and the other was the continuance of the credit system.

Growth. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the population was increasing rapidly, chiefly owing to a large immigration from Ireland. In 1804 it was given as 20,000. Over 600,000 quintals of fish were taken in that year, and the imports included over 80,000 hundredweights of flour, 10,000 hundredweights of beef and pork, over 10,000 hundredweights of butter and cheese, nearly 100,000 pounds of tea, 5000 pounds of sugar, 220,000 gallons of molasses,

¹After an old print. Courtesy of Lieut.-Col. L. C. Outerbridge.

The Story of Newfoundland

and 220,000 gallons of rum. This last item is surprisingly large for a population of only 20,000.

It is interesting to compare prices of that time with those of the present day, although we must keep in mind that the value of money was greater a century or so ago than it is now. The following is a list of the commonest foodstuffs then in use:

Hard bread.....	\$5-\$7 per hundredweight
Flour.....	\$11-\$12.50 per barrel
Beef.....	\$20 per barrel
Pork.....	\$22.50-\$25 per barrel
Butter.....	25 cents per pound
Molasses.....	\$1.60 per gallon
Sugar.....	20-25 cents per pound

The wages paid to the men engaged in the fishery varied from \$150 to \$250 a year, including food.

The growth of St. John's is an indication of the growth of the country in general. In 1802 the population of the capital was 3620, in 1805 it was 4608, and in 1807 it had risen to 5057. The town itself, however, was little more than a collection of mean dwellings; the streets were narrow, unpaved, and unlighted at night. Water Street was in one place only six feet wide.

The following table shows the population of Newfoundland, including Labrador, at different times:

1763.....	13,112	1828.....	58,088	1884.....	197,335
1784.....	15,253	1832.....	60,008	1891.....	202,060
1789.....	19,106	1836.....	75,904	1901.....	220,984
1806.....	26,500	1845.....	98,703	1911.....	242,619
1823.....	52,157	1857.....	124,288	1921.....	263,033
1825.....	55,719	1869.....	146,536	1935.....	289,516
		1874.....	161,374	1945.....	321,153

Living Conditions

Post Office and Newspapers. Signs were not wanting at the beginning of the nineteenth century that Newfoundland was at last acquiring some of the marks of civilization besides religion, education, and law courts. In 1805 the first post office was established. Previous to this date the people had to depend on friends who happened to be travelling to convey letters, and correspondence with another country had to be sent by any vessel that happened to be going there.

The following year the first Newfoundland newspaper appeared. Before this, news was spread by word of mouth or by private letters; there was not even a printing office in the country, and all proclamations and other notices were written by hand. "The Royal Gazette or Newfoundland Advertiser," established in 1806, is still in existence under the title "The Royal Gazette," and it is in this paper that all official communications of the government are made.

Disaster after Disaster. In the early years of the nineteenth century Britain and France were at war; but, as we have seen, Newfoundland was not directly involved. Although there was no invasion, markets were affected, and a serious situation arose when the British Government prohibited trade between enemy European countries and British colonies, so that no fish could be exported to Europe. From 1812, when the Second American War began, till 1815, when the war with France came to an end, Newfoundland enjoyed a short period of great prosperity. Neither French nor American vessels took part in the fishery, and the prices of fish rose to three times their usual

The Story of Newfoundland

level. The merchants made fortunes, and the fishermen made very high wages. Although the prices of all goods were also high, the people had the money to buy them. Thousands of immigrants, attracted by reports of fortunes to be made, arrived on the shores of Newfoundland. In 1815 the exports of fish amounted to 1,250,000 quintals, and the price at St. John's was about five dollars a quintal. The prospects for the country seemed to be of the rosiest. Alas! it proved to be an artificial prosperity caused by war conditions.

The conclusion of peace, first with France and then with America, happily ending a state of war, proved to be the beginning of a long train of disasters for Newfoundland. The French and the American fishermen returned to the fishery both on the Banks and on those parts of the shore allotted to them, and their competition in the markets caused a rapid drop in the price of fish to half its former value and later to an even lower figure. The immediate effect of this market collapse was that a large number of the merchants became bankrupt at the end of the season in 1815, a greater number of failures than had ever been known to take place in one year. Of course, the men who had been employed by these merchants were immediately deprived of their means of livelihood, some not even receiving wages for the work they had already done. The prospect of a winter without the necessities of life was a dreary one.

Matters were made worse by a disastrous fire that broke out in St. John's in the middle of winter, a fire that consumed one hundred and twenty houses and rendered about a thousand men, women, and children homeless. The

Living Conditions

winter, too, was one of unusual severity, the whole coast being sealed up by frost. The fire and the arrival of so many immigrants during the previous year made accommodation short. The plight of the people in St. John's was a sorry one.

The summer that followed did little to dispel the gloom. Great numbers of men could not go fishing because their employers had failed, and even those who did go made poor catches. Added to this, the weather was moist and not at all suitable for making fish, and the prices in the foreign markets were still going down. What a chapter of misfortunes! Poverty and starvation seemed to be inevitable during the next winter; the hideous spectre of famine was brooding over the land; St. John's seemed to be a doomed city. Although those who had escaped actual want gave generously to the poor, there came a time when there was no food at all, when money was of no value because there was nothing to buy.

The naval commander, who took charge in the usual absence of the governor during the winter, was at this time Captain David Buchan, the same man who is famous for his attempt to make friends with the Beothucks. He displayed great ability and cool courage in the face of this desperate situation. He put his own men on short rations and used his stores of food for the relief of the distress in the city. In this way, actual famine was staved off, and the half-starved people came to another fishing season wondering what was in store for them.

The summer of 1817 has been described as "one of the gloomiest busy seasons ever witnessed in Newfoundland." Two shiploads of people were carried back to their native

The Story of Newfoundland

country, and a thousand people were sent to Halifax; but this afforded only a slight relief. Hundreds walked the streets unemployed, kept alive by the charity of their neighbours. The annual seal hunt was a failure, owing to the severity of the weather which stopped all navigation; the sealers, all ready to go to the ice, could not leave port. The fishery was fairly successful as to quantity of fish caught, but prices were still low, hardly sufficient to pay expenses. So another winter came on, and once again St. John's was facing famine.

As if some malicious spirit were pursuing the destitute, half-starved people, the winter began with a terrible fire in which one hundred and thirty houses were burned and, in addition, wharves and stores containing precious food went up in flames. The Governor appealed for help to Halifax, which nobly responded with a hundred tons of bread and a hundred tons of flour; but before there was time for this generous donation to arrive, further disaster came to pile misery on misery. Another fire broke out only a fortnight after the first, and this one completed the work of destruction. The town was reduced to a heap of smoking ruins in which people huddled for the warmth afforded by the ashes, and in which they searched for pieces of fish cooked by the fire. No pen can describe the utter hopelessness and desolation of such a scene. It is painful to note that some people were so debased as to take advantage of the situation by stealing or destroying what little property remained. All through the winter gangs of men, half-famished and lawless, made life almost unbearable by their thieving raids, so much so that that winter was called "The Winter of the Rals," "rals" meaning "rowdies." To the timely

Living Conditions

help sent by the people of Halifax was later added a gift of fifty thousand dollars from the British Government and a large cargo of bread, flour, meal, and rice from Boston. All this helped the situation, although it did not afford full relief.

While all this had been going on in St. John's, the out-ports were in no better circumstances. If they had not fires to contend with, they had extreme poverty and rowdyism. Starvation faced them, and pathetic and heart-rending appeals were made for help to the people of the capital, who, however, had all they could do to help themselves. The people all over the country were desperate, and there is no doubt that hundreds, if not thousands, died during that awful winter for want of food. How desperate the people were is shown by an incident that happened at Bay Bulls. Stormy weather had sent a vessel with provisions on board to shelter in the harbour. Soon people came from miles along the coast to join the men of Bay Bulls in demanding that food be supplied to them. Fearing some such raid, the authorities had sent soldiers from the garrison at St. John's to protect the ship, but the people were willing to risk being shot down in order to obtain food for themselves and their families. To prevent disorder and possibly bloodshed, the captain unloaded half of his cargo and distributed it to the starving people.

Another incident occurred at Renews, where two English crews were caught in early ice. A mob attacked the ships; but the crews fired over the heads of the attackers, who then beat a hasty retreat. One of the captains, however, out of compassion shared his provisions with the people.

The Story of Newfoundland

Better Times. The winter of 1817-1818 was probably the worst in the history of Newfoundland. There was not a single ray of light in the prolonged gloom; but as the darkest hour of the night is said to be that immediately before the dawn, so the winter which saw the depths of human misery was the forerunner of brighter days. The first indication of returning prosperity was a successful sealing voyage. Although the winter had been severe and north-east winds had blockaded the east coast with ice, channels were cut through the ice, and in a few weeks the sealing vessels returned loaded to the scuppers with skins. This put fresh heart into all connected with the cod-fishery, and it so happened that a large catch was made and that this was followed by good prices in the foreign markets. Past troubles were speedily forgotten as a bad dream. Newfoundland showed then, as she has so often shown since, that she has remarkable powers of recovery if only she is given a fair chance.

The winter was noteworthy also because it was the first during which a governor had remained in the country, although he died in midwinter.

Times Not So Good Again. During the following winter there was again a setback in the form of two more fires. There is more than a suspicion that these fires, five in two years, were not all due to carelessness; but what object there would be in deliberately causing fires, it is difficult to see. Out of evil good sometimes comes, and in this case advantage was taken of the ruins to plan a better town. Water Street was to be at least fifty feet in width, Duckworth Street (as it was later named) at least forty feet,

Living Conditions

with cross streets at least sixty feet wide. Modern St. John's really dates from this time, just over a century ago.

The rapid recovery in 1818 turned out to be not a complete recovery. The large numbers who continued to flock to the country chiefly from Ireland, induced to emigrate because of false information given them of prospects in the country to the west, became a burden on the community. The competition of the Americans who had been given fishing rights under the agreement of 1818 with Britain kept the price of fish low, so low that it did not pay the cost of production. In the winter of 1820-1821, one third of the population had to receive charity in order to keep from starving.

Roads. When Sir Thomas Cochrane arrived in 1825 to take over the governorship of the colony, one of his first acts was to deal with the pauperism which had grown to such large proportions that it was not only a heavy burden on the public but also a source of danger from the effects of idleness and dependence on others. The new Governor made an attempt, the first that was ever made, to exact work for dole. He posted a notice intimating that work would be given on the making of roads and other useful public conveniences to those who could not find employment elsewhere, and that the wages would be thirty-six cents a day, two thirds of the money due to be paid each Saturday and the remainder to be held over to provide for them during the winter. At the same time he intimated that any who were able to work and did not take advantage of this offer would receive no relief during the winter. The result of this interesting experiment is not recorded.

The Story of Newfoundland

The object of the road work organized by the Governor was not merely to provide work for the unemployed ; it was part of his scheme to make roads, because till that time the roads that existed were merely foot-paths. He had a good road made to Portugal Cove, whence it was possible to sail across Conception Bay to Harbour Grace, which had then a considerable population. He ordered roads to be made to Torbay, to Topsail, and to Bay Bulls.

Sir Thomas Cochrane. The first governors who came to Newfoundland lived on board their ships, but later a house in the fort was reserved for the governor. When the governors began to live in the country all the year round, the house was found to be unsuitable, and Sir Thomas Cochrane sought funds from the British Government to build a new house. The building that was erected is that which still stands. Government House is a large, well-situated residence, but of very plain architecture ; in fact, it has been described as "a huge pile of unredeemed ugliness."

Sir Thomas was an eminently practical man ; he not only thought out improvements, he personally superintended their execution. He was usually to be seen early in the morning on horseback inspecting the roads, directing the workmen, and giving advice to farmers. He took a real interest in the country. The most important change made during his governorship was the introduction of Representative Government ; this is fully dealt with in Chapter XIV. During the early days of Representative Government, the Governor's position became very painful because of sectarian and political strife, and he lost his popularity with

Living Conditions

a section of the public because it was thought that he favoured one party more than the other.

"The Hanging Judge." Under Representative Government disorder and crime continued in spite of severe sentences passed by the Supreme Court on offenders. Chief Justice Boulton, appointed in 1833, was a Judge and the President of the Legislative Council. In the latter capacity he was prominent in the controversies with the House of Assembly. As a judge he was an able man, severe but correct in his judgments, harsh in his sentences. With crime rampant in the country, he considered it his duty to deal very severely with criminals. At one time no fewer than thirteen people were charged with murder, two of them with the murder of whole families. Whenever the verdict brought in was "Guilty," the sentence was hanging, so that he became known as "the hanging judge." On other matters his decisions often displeased political leaders, and he therefore made enemies, who drew up a petition requesting the British Government to remove him. The request was granted not on the ground that he had failed in his duties, but that his language and his conduct were considered to have been unworthy of one filling these high offices. His removal was an act of injustice over which his enemies, having attained their object, rejoiced, but which the real friends of Newfoundland regretted because of its possible effects on the administration of law and order.

Representative Government. During the first eight years of Representative Government (see Chapter XIV), there was little, if any, improvement in the general condition of

The Story of Newfoundland

the country; sectarian quarrels, political disputes, and serious riots kept the country in almost continual disorder. It was a very unhappy time and a very bad beginning for the new form of government. When the constitution was suspended in 1841 and the new Amalgamated Legislature came into being, matters took a turn for the better. Peace was restored, at least quarrels were neither so frequent nor so bitter, and there was a succession of good fishing seasons.

The problem of winter occupations has always been a serious one in Newfoundland. From the end of one fishing season to the beginning of the next, there is not in most places enough work to keep a man occupied, and there is no money to be earned. There was a time, however, when the problem was solved. About the middle of the last century there was a great boom in the sealing industry, and it was necessary in St. John's and in those outports which sent ships to the seal hunt to build and repair schooners during the winter instead of drinking and dancing as had been the custom. Several good sealing seasons kept the men employed and brought wealth to many settlements.

The first steamer to visit Newfoundland was a warship, a paddle steamer, in 1840. Four years later a regular service was established with Halifax.

The '46 Fire. The year 1846 stands out in Newfoundland history as the year of one of the great fires which have at various times devastated St. John's. The cause of this fire was the boiling over of a glue pot in a cabinet-maker's shop in George Street. From such a simple beginning the fire spread to the neighbouring shops and houses; and fanned by a strong westerly wind, the flames leaped from building

Living Conditions



An Early Paddle Steamer

to building and from street to street, blazing embers flying ahead to carry on the work of destruction. Valiant attempts were made to stop its progress; in blowing up a house to make a fire-break, three men were killed. When the vats filled with seal oil caught fire, the town was doomed. In a few hours the heat from the blazing buildings was so great that it was impossible to get near them. The fire spread in all directions, even to ships in the harbour. At one time it looked as if the harbour itself were on fire, because the burning seal oil spread itself over the water. By nightfall nothing but a forest of chimneys remained to mark the site of the town, except a few houses to the west of George Street and one or two isolated houses to the north.

The Story of Newfoundland

About 12,000 people were rendered homeless by this disaster, and the one fortunate feature was that it occurred in June when the weather was mild. The very next day tents were erected, and a beginning was made in the building of huts to afford temporary shelter. The food problem was acute, and appeals were sent by the Governor to England and to various places in North America, from which in due course came generous gifts of food and money.

As the process of reconstruction began, St. John's became a busy hive of industry. In order to try to prevent such disasters in the future it was ordered that buildings in the business part of the town should be built of brick or stone, and that the oil vats should be placed on the south side of the harbour. As we shall see later, these precautions were not sufficient for their purpose.

More Disasters. While the work of rebuilding the town was in progress, it had a setback in the form of a terrific gale which destroyed a large amount of property on land and sea. Some unfinished buildings were blown down, St. Thomas's Church was moved bodily several inches, ships were wrecked, boats were swamped or driven from their moorings and dashed against the rocks, stages and flakes all around the coast were swept away.

It was about this time that the agitation for Responsible Government began (see Chapter XIV), and it went on as St. John's was being rebuilt. The fishery was reasonably good, and everything pointed to a period of stability, although there was still a considerable amount of poverty. In 1854, just when Responsible Government had been granted although it was not yet in force, just when a period



St. John's about 1850

Looking east from Freshwater Road¹

of prosperity seemed to be setting in, another disaster occurred, this time in the form of an epidemic of that dread disease cholera. It was brought to St. John's by a sailor, and it spread with alarming speed in spite of all the heroic efforts of the doctors, of the clergymen of all denominations, and of volunteer nurses. Many people died, particularly in those parts of the town which would nowadays be described as slums.

Conditions of Life. Even as late as the time of which we are now speaking, the needs of the people were few and simple—a hut of any kind for shelter and food of the plainest. Hard biscuit, fish, butter, pork, and tea were the staples of diet, hardly ever a potato or other vegetable on the table; these were luxuries only for the wealthy. There were few comforts; life was a hard grind during the fishing season followed by comparative idleness during the winter.

¹ After an old print. Courtesy of Lieut.-Col. L. C. Outerbridge.

The Story of Newfoundland

It was two years after the '46 Fire that St. John's added one of the conveniences of modern life, namely, a good water supply. George's Pond on Signal Hill was tapped; and although the supply was limited, it was excellent water. It was soon evident, however, that this was not sufficient for the needs of a growing town, and in 1863 the large Windsor Lake, or Twenty Mile Pond, as it is sometimes called, was brought into service. This proved to be a wise step, and at the present day it continues to afford a supply of pure water to a much larger town and also a supply at good pressure for fire-fighting purposes.

Responsible Government. At the time that Responsible Government was introduced (see Chapter XIV), the population of the colony was about 130,000. Then, as now, the cod-fishery was the mainstay of the country; and when it failed, the whole country was in distress. The first few years of Responsible Government were years of prosperity, but this was followed by a period of eight years of misfortunes. In 1860 the fishery was a partial failure. In 1862, for fifty-two days in the spring, the wind blew from the north-east driving ice on the shore, and although many seals were taken from the shore, the ships took none. A succession of poor years reduced the people to a condition of abject poverty. Many emigrated to Canada and the United States, and of those who remained a large proportion had to be supported by the government. The people began to lose heart at these continuous adverse conditions. The amount of government relief given out each year rose till it was one third of the total expenditure. This large increase, combined with the fact that many of the people

Living Conditions

were losing their spirit of independence and claiming support at public expense as a right, caused the government to decide in 1868 that this expenditure could not continue. What would have happened if the following year had been another poor season can hardly be imagined; but fortunately it was unusually successful, and there was an immediate improvement in the condition of the people. Recovery has always been rapid.

In the year 1869 a general election was held resulting in the defeat of the government which had advocated union with Canada. The new government threw itself with great enthusiasm into schemes for the internal development of the country; progress was made with road construction, there was an advance in the mining industry, particularly at Tilt Cove, agriculture was encouraged, and with all this a succession of good fishing seasons brought prosperity. It looked as if the party that had opposed union with Canada were doing their best to show that Newfoundland could stand on her own feet.

Progress. The year 1882 saw the beginning of a great revival in the life of the people. The construction of the railway (see Chapter X) which had been begun the previous year provided employment not only for those actually engaged in grading the road and laying the rails, but also for hundreds of men all over the country who cut the sleepers on which the rails were laid. This winter employment was a godsend to many a family accustomed to try to earn sufficient in the fishing season to maintain them for a whole year. Trade became brisk, and all were happy and contented.

The Story of Newfoundland

In St. John's the construction of a dry dock was begun, and this also provided extra employment. It looked as if the country were at the beginning of a period of enterprise and prosperity. The award of \$1,000,000 to Newfoundland made by the Halifax Commission (see Chapter IX) helped the Treasury; and although the disputes with the French on the west coast were a constant source of irritation, the government was beginning to take a stronger stand on this question. Newfoundland was at last finding her feet. Progressive and enterprising governments were giving a strong lead, and the people were responding with a fine spirit.

The '92 Fire. Just as this "era of progress" seemed to be well established, and the outlook appeared to be better than at any time in the history of the country, two great calamities occurred which threatened to undo the constructive work of many years. One of these was the great fire of 1892 in St. John's. At this time no large fire had occurred for forty-six years, and with a fine water supply people felt secure from this kind of danger. They were rudely awakened from this sense of security on a summer night when a carelessly discarded match set fire to a stable. The fire thus begun was fanned by a westerly breeze and ultimately destroyed three quarters of the town. For some weeks the weather had been hot, and everything was parched. A bucket of water would have put out the fire in its earliest stages; but as luck would have it, the water had been turned off that day because the pipes had been undergoing repairs. With no water to quench the fire, with plenty of inflammable material in the stable, with a high wind to

Living Conditions



Ruins in St. John's after the Fire of 1892

fan the flames, the fire spread with great rapidity, leaping from house to house. Soon it was evident that a large part of the town was doomed. Household goods were hastily packed and taken to places which were thought to be safe. The fire, which had begun at the corner of Freshwater and Pennywell Roads, spread southward and eastward with increasing intensity until it reached the harbour on the south and the extreme east end of the town. Within sixteen hours little was left but a forest of chimneys and heaps of ashes. Eleven thousand people were homeless, and property to the value of \$20,000,000 had been consumed. The business and professional part of the town was completely destroyed, and the chief public buildings, the hospital, and many churches were reduced to ruins.

The Story of Newfoundland

Great disasters bring forth great generosity. First from Halifax, then from other parts of Canada, from the United States, and from Britain came large donations of food, clothing, building materials, and money; and it was not long before a new St. John's was rising from the ashes.

The Bank Crash. Two years later, the island, while still struggling bravely to recover from the disastrous fire, was overwhelmed by yet another dire calamity. There were then two banks in addition to the government Savings Bank, and until this time they had enjoyed a high reputation. One of them, however, because of some reckless transactions it had made, had to close its doors. This led to a run on the other two banks, both of which had also to close. Bank-notes immediately became valueless, business was brought to a standstill, and workmen were dismissed in large numbers. Once again the people were faced with starvation. Bread riots took place, crowds surrounded the House of Assembly demanding food or work, afterward breaking into and looting a store. Sailors were landed to protect public property. For several days there was perplexity, confusion, and anxiety. In one form or another the whole population was affected by the bank failure; large business firms went bankrupt, and thrifty fishermen lost the savings painstakingly acquired during a lifetime. Every man was distrusted by his neighbour, business was paralyzed, and there was everywhere misery and distress.

To bring some immediate relief the British Government made a grant and sent Sir Herbert Murray to see that it was used properly, that is, not merely for charity but for providing for the following season's fishery. Friends

Living Conditions

abroad again contributed liberally, and somehow or other actual famine was staved off during the following winter.

The failure of the banks has had a permanent effect on Newfoundland in two ways; first, those who have been able to save money have not as a rule invested it in the country itself; secondly, the fisherman in many cases prefers to hoard his money instead of banking it.

Recovery. At this period the future of the island seemed dark and gloomy. The great fire and the bank crash had resulted in such a reduction of revenue that the government was at its wit's end to know how to meet the situation; it looked as if there were no alternative to defaulting, that is, to going bankrupt. The obtaining of a loan saved the day for the government, and the grant given by the British Government saved the day for the fishermen. By the end of 1895 Newfoundland was again on the up-grade; successful sealing and fishing seasons put fresh heart into the people, who were once more on the rising tide of fortune.

Recent Years. The twentieth century has in many respects been a repetition of previous history—ups and downs. The completion of the railway, the final settlement of the French Shore question, the development of the Bell Island mine, the establishment of newsprint mills at Grand Falls and Corner Brook, the opening of a lead and zinc mine at Buchans, all gave a fillip to the country and created employment. On the other hand, the fortunes of the fishing industry have been varied as in the past, and it is on this industry that the country chiefly depends. In

The Story of Newfoundland

a majority of the settlements the standard of living of the people is little, if any, better than it was a century ago.

At the start of the First World War in 1914 Newfoundland, in common with the rest of the Empire, lost no time in going to the assistance of the Mother Country. In October of that year the first contingent of the Newfoundland Regiment, consisting of 500 men who were known as "The Blue Puttees," arrived in England. Others followed at intervals during the next four years, some joining the British Navy, till no fewer than 5482 men had gone overseas. Of these, 1300 were killed and 2314 wounded.

Newfoundlanders earned for themselves "a lasting name in British military records" by their skill and bravery during the war, but it was a sad time for the relatives of those who were killed. Probably the saddest day for Newfoundland was July 1, 1916. On that day the Regiment was ordered to take the village of Beaumont Hamel, which they did in the face of a murderous fire; they went into action 753 strong, but only 68 answered the roll-call the next day. It is because of this that we each year still observe July 1 as Memorial Day.

The war came to an end on November 11, 1918, when an armistice was signed; that is, the leaders on both sides agreed to stop fighting while a treaty was being prepared to bring the war to an end. This was a day of great rejoicing, and we still celebrate Armistice Day each year.

Newfoundland is proud of the part she played in the war, although she could ill afford the expenditure of lives and money. She bravely made the sacrifice and lost some of the flower of her young manhood, besides adding considerably to her national debt.



*Monument to the Brave Newfoundlanders Who Fought and Died
in the First World War¹*

¹Newfoundland Tourist Development Board.



Aeroplane View of St. John's Today¹

The years of the Great War of 1914-1918 were years of prosperity for Newfoundland, and both merchants and fishermen made large profits. As in the case of the Napoleonic and American wars of the previous century, however, the end of the war saw a slump in prices, and the high standard of living could not be maintained. Again there was a recovery, and in 1929 the country was rapidly gaining a new prosperity when the world-wide depression came. Newfoundland again gradually sank under the waves of adversity, caused not only by world conditions but also by yet another succession of poor fishing seasons.

¹Royal Canadian Air Force photograph.

Living Conditions

During the present century the standard of education has been raised considerably, and this in itself has effected an improvement; but much remains to be done in this connection. Recently the health of the people has been receiving considerable attention; cottage hospitals are being erected at various places, a hospital ship plies between settlements on the south coast, and a clinic has been opened in St. John's where medical attention is given to those who cannot afford to pay for it. In the matter of education and health, however, the effects of improved conditions are not immediately felt, and it will take generations before the benefits of improved service will be seen.

The Second World War brought great prosperity. A general rise in prices for the products of the industries, in addition to money earned by workers on the base construction programmes, resulted in better times for all. Although the cost of living increased sharply, there was little hardship. Government expenditure on social services, which was increasing before the war, became even greater. Natural resources were explored. Interest in Newfoundland, both within and without the country, was aroused by the activities of the war. It is difficult to measure the direct consequences, but certainly the effects of the war will be of great importance for some time to come.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What was the probable reason why the first men settled in Newfoundland?
2. What kind of food did the early settlers use?

The Story of Newfoundland

3. Why did some of the early settlers choose an exposed place like Bonavista or Torbay?
4. What were the causes of trouble among the early settlers?
5. Why was there no government or court of justice in Newfoundland for over two centuries?
6. Describe the appearance of a settlement at the end of the eighteenth century.
7. Compare the prices of foodstuffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century with those of the same goods today.
8. What were the effects on Newfoundland of the Napoleonic and the American wars?
9. Give some account of the improvements introduced by Sir Thomas Cochrane.
10. At what period was there no winter unemployment? Why?
11. Describe the condition of the country immediately after the bank crash.
12. Compare the conditions in Newfoundland during and immediately after the First World War, 1914-1918, with those during and after the Napoleonic Wars of the previous century.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The French in Newfoundland

Early Rivalry. Of the European fishermen who came to Newfoundland before 1580, the largest number were French. The others were Spaniards, English, and Portuguese; but in the middle of the seventeenth century, the French were the only rivals of the English, the rivalry being on the whole a friendly one. As, however, the great value of the Newfoundland fishery became more and more evident, and as the French desire for colonial expansion increased, so did the French become more and more anxious to establish themselves firmly in the colony. While the British Government did all in its power to prevent the settlement of the country, the French Government gave every encouragement to such settlement. Until about 1660, however, the French did not settle permanently; they were merely summer visitors.

In the middle of the seventeenth century France began to show some interest in her western possessions, which had come to her as a result of Cartier's voyages a hundred years previously. Some settlements were made in Acadia (now called Nova Scotia) and Cape Breton, and forts were erected for defence. France thus appeared to realize that, as Newfoundland was so close to her new colonies, it was desirable that she should have possession of the island. This was probably the reason for the conflicts between England and France that began to take place about this time.

The Story of Newfoundland

Placentia. The first clash between the two nations in Newfoundland occurred in 1635 when the British Government imposed a duty of 5 per cent on all produce taken from Newfoundland by foreigners, in return for which they were allowed the privilege of drying their fish on the shores of the island. This privilege was the first step toward the settlement of the French, and from this time they gradually established themselves. In 1660 they selected Placentia (then called Plaisance, meaning "a pleasant place") as their headquarters, and a more suitable choice could hardly have been made. It was near good fishing grounds, it was practically free from fog, it could easily be fortified, and it was as regards natural scenery "a pleasant place." From the French point of view it was an admirable place for defence, and as a matter of fact it never was captured by the British.

French Aspirations. The French now became more aggressive and showed that their purpose was to annex Newfoundland for France. They were assisted in the pursuit of this object by the fact that Charles II of England was little more than a vassal of Louis XIV of France. By a secret agreement between the two kings the duty which had been levied on foreign fishermen was given up, and a strip of coast from Cape Race to Cape Ray was practically handed over to the French. This agreement was not made known at the time, so that protests about the conduct of the French in raiding English settlements and destroying boats, stages, and other property made to the British Government were completely ignored, and the English fishermen had to put up with a good deal of persecution.

The French in Newfoundland

With the accession of William III to the throne of England in 1688 there was a change of policy, but the harm done during the previous twenty or thirty years took centuries to undo. The French now looked upon themselves as owners of Newfoundland, or, if not exactly owners, then certainly tenants and would-be owners. In this they were assisted by the idea prevalent in England and fostered by the west-country merchants that it was not advisable to permit the settlement of Newfoundland. France, on the other hand, coveted the possession of the island for several reasons—its valuable fisheries, its suitability as a training ground for her navy, and its desirability as an addition to her American colonies, for at that time eastern Canada was French.

Aeroplane View of Placentia

Royal Canadian Air Force photograph



The Story of Newfoundland

The French Attack St. John's. With the coming of a new and more active governor to Placentia in 1689 the smouldering fires of international strife burst into flame. He sent out small bands of French soldiers to pillage and destroy English settlements, and this went on for several years before the British Government decided to hit back. An attack was made on Placentia in 1692, but it was unsuccessful. After this the French appear to have made up their minds to try to drive the British out of the country and began by attacking the principal settlement, St. John's. In 1696 a large fleet sailed from Placentia. When the news reached St. John's that this fleet was on its way to attack the town, hasty preparations were made for defence. Two forts were constructed, one on each side of the Narrows, in addition to which there was Fort William, which had recently been built on the fine site now occupied by the Newfoundland Hotel. These defences, although manned largely by fishermen, proved to be sufficient to repel the attack, and the French fleet was forced to withdraw.

Following this unsuccessful attack rumours reached St. John's that the French were making preparations for another attack; but, because of lack of leadership, no further plans were made for defence. In the autumn of the same year the attack came, not by sea as had been expected, but by land. The Governor of Placentia, De Brouillon by name, advised an attack by sea; Captain D'Iberville, a famous French-Canadian naval officer who had arrived at Placentia, was in favour of a raid by land; and these differing opinions caused bitter quarrels. Finally the Governor prevailed, and they embarked for St. John's accompanied by some Indians who had come

The French in Newfoundland

with D'Iberville; but they were driven back by head winds. This led them to adopt the other plan. They marched to Ferryland by Colinet and Salmonier and arrived in an exhausted condition, owing to shortage of food and the rough nature of the country, only to find that the people of Ferryland had fled to Bay Bulls. They took ship to Bay Bulls and landed there without much opposition. They then marched to Petty Harbour, where they met their first resistance. The settlers, however, were no match for the well-trained French soldiers, and they were easily defeated. Proceeding toward St. John's, they encountered a band of St. John's men who had set out with the intention of helping their Petty Harbour friends. These men were also defeated, but not without a hard fight against heavy odds, there being only eighty-eight fishermen against four hundred French soldiers.

When the French reached St. John's, they found that most of the people had fled to the surrounding woods, but that a number had taken refuge in Fort William. A vessel which had been in the harbour escaped with a hundred men, taking with them as much of their household goods as they had time to collect. Since plunder was one of the



*A French Soldier of the
Late Seventeenth Century*

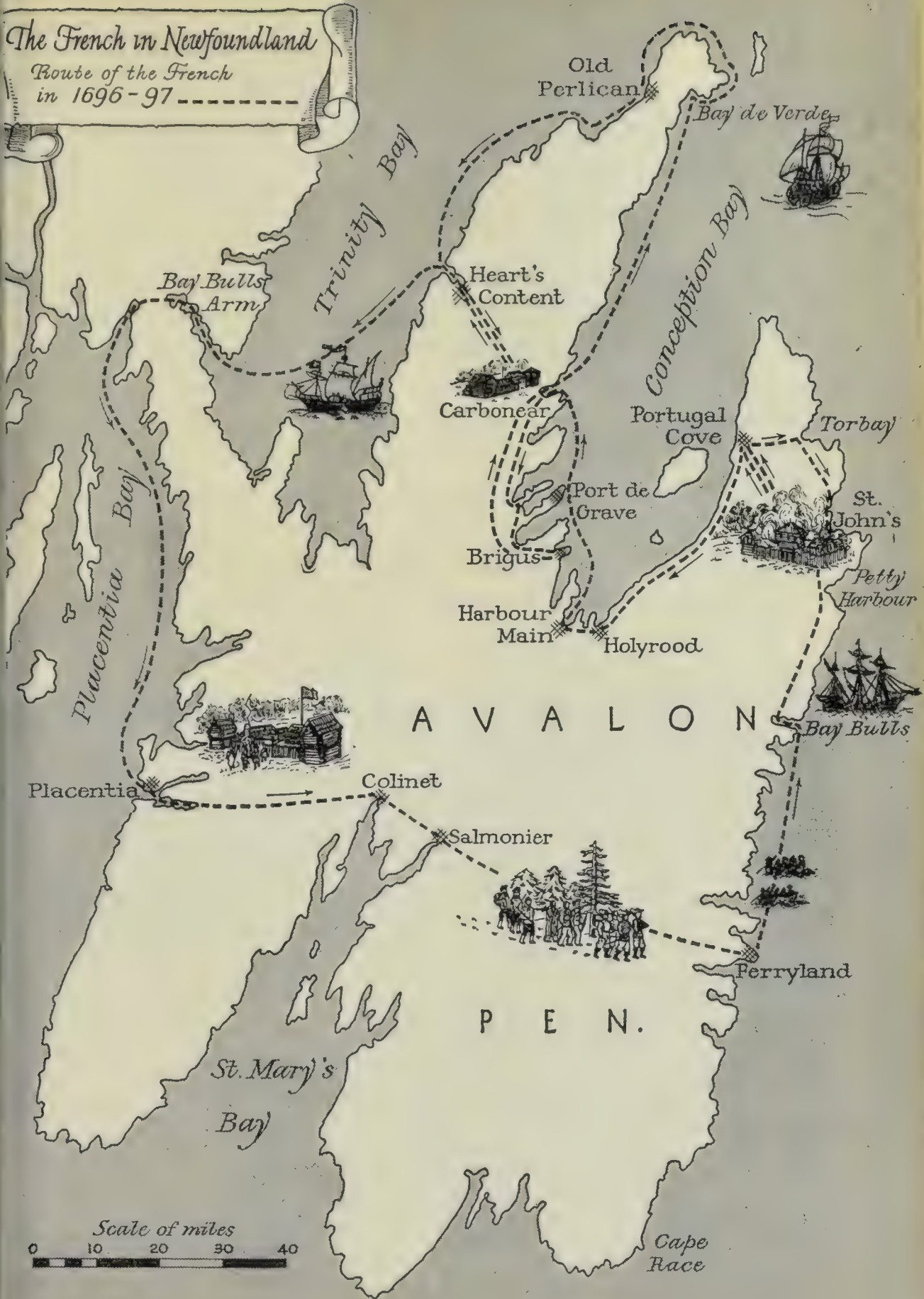
The Story of Newfoundland

objects of the French, this was a disappointing loss for them. Orders were given that all houses were to be burned, that the woods were to be searched, and that any English found were to be killed or captured. The men in the fort were called upon to surrender. Not willing to sacrifice men in attacking the fort, the commander was induced to resort to a mean and cruel device. One of the Indians scalped an Englishman, who was then made to walk to the fort with a message to the effect that this is what would happen to all of them if they did not immediately surrender. The men in the fort, being short of food, sent a deputation to the French commander offering to surrender, provided that they were given ships and provisions to take them to England. This was finally agreed to. A batch of two hundred and twenty men, women, and children was sent off on a ship and duly arrived in England, but eighty others were drowned when their ship was wrecked off the coast of Spain.

Destructive Raids. Having disposed of St. John's, the French continued their destructive march to Portugal Cove; thence they crossed to Torbay, back to St. John's, where they completed the destruction of the town by burning every house and every boat. They then returned to Portugal Cove; thence they went as far as Holyrood and Harbour Main, burning houses, pillaging, and spreading bloodshed all the way. From Harbour Main they proceeded by boat to Port de Grave and Carbonear; but the inhabitants of the latter place and of Harbour Grace had retired to Carbonear Island, where they were so strongly entrenched that they defied capture although several attacks were made on them.

The French in Newfoundland

Route of the French
in 1696-97



The Story of Newfoundland

From Carbonear the French sailed to Bay de Verde and Old Perlican and into Trinity Bay as far as Heart's Content, where some resistance was attempted. D'Iberville, with a portion of the French force, then returned across country to Carbonear, and made further attempts to take Carbonear Island, where some two hundred fishermen had taken refuge, but they failed. Small detachments were sent to burn Brigus, Port de Grave, and other settlements in that neighbourhood, after which they returned to Heart's Content. From there they sailed to Bay Bulls Arm (Trinity Bay), marched over the isthmus, and so back to Placentia.

All this was carried out during the winter, and it must have involved considerable hardship to the men. At the same time it is hard to see what their object was, because

Bay Bulls Arm, Trinity Bay

Royal Canadian Air Force photograph



The French in Newfoundland

they made no attempt to occupy the places which they had so wantonly destroyed. The inhabitants of all these places, too, at least those who succeeded in evading the enemy, must have suffered considerably, because most of them were rendered homeless in the midst of the rigours of a Newfoundland winter with only a scanty supply of food. Their plight was a sorry one. As far as St. John's was concerned it was now completely deserted; not a building was left standing in this once flourishing settlement.

Help from Britain. When the news of this disaster reached England, it aroused great indignation. A large squadron and fifteen hundred soldiers were sent out to recapture St. John's, but on arrival they found the place abandoned; they had simply to take possession. The soldiers were immediately put to work to strengthen the fortifications and erect barracks. Three hundred men under an officer remained for the winter; but a severe winter, combined with shortage of food and badly built accommodation, caused no fewer than 214 deaths. The following year it was decided to have a permanent garrison in St. John's, and the British Government declared that "no alien or stranger whatsoever was to take bait or fish" in Newfoundland waters. If this declaration had only been carried into practice, it would have avoided much future trouble; but this was not done, and the French remained in possession of the south coast.

More French Raids. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the British twice ordered an attack on Placentia with a view to driving out the French. For some unknown

The Story of Newfoundland

reason the British Navy did not live up to its reputation, for in both cases the admiral in charge of the fleet decided that such an attack did not hold out any hope of success. Thus the French were allowed to continue their occupation of Placentia and to continue their piratical raids by land and sea on the settlements of Conception and Trinity bays.

There is an interesting story told of a raid on Bonavista in 1705. A French force captured three boats laden with dried cod-fish. After this success they attempted to take a New England boat captained by one named Michael Gill; but they met with a warm reception, shots being exchanged for about six hours. The French set fire to one of the captured ships and cut her loose to drift on to Gill's ship, but he succeeded in evading it. They repeated the attempt with another of the captured ships, but this likewise failed. When the people of Bonavista saw Gill's success, they came out of the woods to which they had fled, and the French, seeing that it would be impossible to take the place, abandoned the fight. No doubt Gill's bravery and skill saved the settlement from complete destruction.

The following year the French, accompanied by Canadian Indians, made another attack on St. John's. Although they occupied the town, they failed to take the fort after a siege lasting five weeks, during which time they resorted to all sorts of tricks to try to induce the commander to surrender. They tried to bribe him, to flatter him, to terrify him with threats, but he defied all their efforts and they finally withdrew to Placentia.

The same year the French marched to Holyrood and Harbour Grace, murdering and destroying as they went.

The French in Newfoundland

Carbonear Island again proving too hard a nut for them to crack, they proceeded to Bonavista, where this time there was no Captain Gill to lead the defence, and the people surrendered. For the whole summer the French kept all the settlements on Conception and Trinity bays in a state of terror, and they took a great deal of plunder, which they sent to Placentia.

Meanwhile the British had not been altogether idle, but their activities had been mainly confined to attacking French ships on their way to and from the Banks, and they had taken or destroyed a large number of them. Now they determined to attack the French ships which were in Newfoundland waters, and in 1706 with three ships they destroyed six French ships on the north-east coast and ruined their fishery for that year. Two years later the French again attacked St. John's and this time captured it, meeting hardly any resistance in spite of the fact that there was a garrison. Once more the town was laid in ruins by the invader.

The Treaty of Utrecht. In the year 1713 there occurred an excellent opportunity of settling the whole question of the French occupation of Newfoundland. Britain and France had been at war in Europe, and France had been completely defeated. Britain could have imposed almost any terms she pleased, but she chose to be generous and left France in possession of Cape Breton and of certain rights in Newfoundland. The Treaty of Utrecht, which contained the peace terms, declared that "the island called Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, shall from this time forward belong of right wholly to Britain." Placentia was to

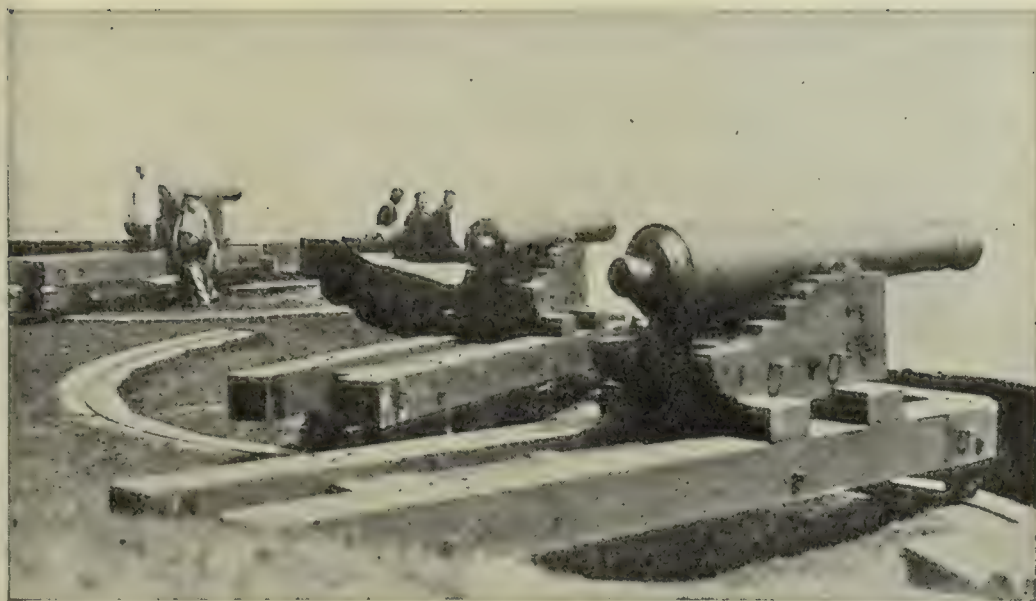
The Story of Newfoundland

be given up, and no place was to be fortified by the French ; but they were to be allowed to catch fish and dry them on land from Cape Bonavista north and then south to Point Riche. No buildings were to be erected by the French except those necessary for carrying on the fishery. This was the agreement that was made between the two nations, and, as we shall see later, it led to yet further trouble.

War Again. Apart from some minor quarrels in Placentia and other places there was peace in Newfoundland for nearly half a century following the Treaty of Utrecht ; but the Seven Years' War, which broke out in 1756 between Britain and France, had its effects on Newfoundland. In May, 1762, a French squadron which had been lying in the harbour of Brest in France and which had been watched by some English warships made its escape during a fog and sailed westward. It arrived at Bay Bulls, landed a force, and, marching the necessary twenty miles, took St. John's easily because there was only a small garrison.

Meanwhile the new Governor was on his way to Newfoundland to take up his duties. He was intercepted and told the news of the French attack. He immediately despatched a sloop to Halifax requesting assistance, which was speedily given. A fleet of English ships came and lay off St. John's harbour, and eight hundred men were sent to Torbay, where they landed after meeting some little opposition. They marched the seven miles to Quidi Vidi, where there was a sharp fight ; after this they bravely and successfully attacked the French, who held a strong position on Signal Hill. The French were now in an apparently hopeless position, with an enemy army on the commanding

The French in Newfoundland



Old Cannon on Signal Hill

Signal Hill and a hostile fleet outside the Narrows; but just when complete success seemed to be assured to the British, it eluded their grasp. A thick fog came down, under cover of which the French quietly sailed through the Narrows and escaped. Meanwhile the French army in St. John's was deserted and after some resistance surrendered. This may be regarded as the first British victory in Newfoundland.

It is of interest to note here that on board one of the British vessels that came to recapture St. John's from the French was the afterward famous Captain Cook, one of Britain's greatest sailors and the discoverer of Australia. The Governor secured the appointment of Captain Cook to make a survey of the island, and he spent three years in making charts of the coast and surrounding seas. These charts proved to be very accurate; indeed, his was the first really accurate map of Newfoundland.

The Story of Newfoundland

The Treaty of Paris. In the following year the Seven Years' War came to an end, and the Treaty of Paris was signed. Here again Newfoundland did not receive a square deal. The fishing rights given to France by the Treaty of Utrecht were continued in spite of strong protests; and, in addition, St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to France on condition that they would not be fortified. Thus another opportunity was lost for settling the vexed question of the French occupation of Newfoundland.

The Treaty of Versailles. Quarrels between Newfoundland and French fishermen continued. The French began to claim that on what has come to be called the French Shore they had exclusive rights of fishing, that is, that Newfoundlanders had no right to be there at all. To this, of course, the Newfoundlanders could not agree, and this led to innumerable disputes all around the coast, disputes which often ended in violence. Matters were not improved, indeed they were rendered much worse, by the Treaty of Versailles.

During the War of American Independence France, Britain's old enemy, took advantage of the state of affairs to declare war. This time, although St. John's and other settlements on the south-east coast were fortified and ready for any attack that might come, Newfoundland was left unmolested. By the Treaty of Versailles (1783) that marked the end of the war, two changes were made. The boundaries of the Treaty Shore were altered to extend from Cape St. John to Cape Ray, instead of from Cape Bonavista to Point Riche. This settled many disputes that had arisen as to the exact boundaries of the French Shore; and

The French in Newfoundland

it also gave British fishermen exclusive rights in Bonavista and Notre Dame bays, which indeed had been settled by the British for three quarters of a century.

The second change was that the British Government was required to make regulations so as to prevent competition between Newfoundland fishermen and French fishermen. There was also an understanding, not included in the Treaty, to the effect that permanent Newfoundland settlements in those places where the French were allowed to fish were to be removed, and that the French were to be permitted to cut wood for the repair of boats and houses; these points were embodied in a Declaration issued by the King soon after the conclusion of the Treaty. This outrageous Declaration was ever afterward used by the French as an argument for their claim that they had the exclusive rights to fish from Cape St. John to Cape Ray. Although the British denied this, they did not always support their opinions with practical help for the Newfoundland fishermen. The French even went the length of seizing Newfoundland boats, cutting Newfoundland nets, and driving Newfoundland fishermen out of their own harbours; and this was allowed to continue for over a century in a British colony.

The Last French Invasion. Following the French Revolution (1789-1793), Britain and France were again at war, which did not end till Napoleon had been defeated at Waterloo. Almost as soon as war was declared, the Governor of Newfoundland took possession of St. Pierre, but it was not till 1796 that Newfoundland was actually threatened. Meanwhile Sir Richard Wallace, a very active

The Story of Newfoundland

Governor, began to organize in a very thorough manner the defence of the country. He strengthened the forts and the batteries, kept the garrison in good fighting trim, and encouraged recruiting. He obtained permission from the British Government to raise a Newfoundland corps of 600 men, which number was raised in two and a half months. This was the famous Royal Newfoundland Fencibles.

Great excitement was caused when a large French fleet appeared outside St. John's harbour. The Governor proclaimed martial law, and orders were issued giving instructions as to what each man, soldier and civilian, was to do in the event of an attack; all were to be in readiness to take their posts at a moment's notice. For two days the French manœuvred off Cape Spear; but whether because they saw how efficiently the place was defended or for some other reason, they made no attack. Instead, they made off to Bay Bulls, which they burned down, taking a few prisoners. And so ended the last French invasion of Newfoundland.

St. Pierre was handed back to the French in 1802.

Newfoundland's Magna Carta. In the Crimean War, which came to an end in 1857, the French and British were for once allies instead of enemies, and the victory of their arms caused a great display of friendliness. Unfortunately for Newfoundland this excess of friendliness was the cause of more trouble; for the two countries entered into an agreement whereby the French were to obtain even greater fishing privileges than they already possessed, privileges which would have resulted in ruining the Newfoundland fisheries on the west coast.

The French in Newfoundland

When the agreement was made known, there was great excitement in the colony; the British flag was hoisted half-mast; some even flew the American flag; indignation meetings were held. Liberals and Conservatives, merchants and labourers, clergy and laity, all combined to denounce this shameful agreement. Newfoundland was now under Responsible Government, which had been granted in 1855, and it was felt that before any agreement had been made about Newfoundland, its government should have been consulted. The government appointed delegates to go to Canada to enlist the support of their brother colonists against this measure, and others to go to England to protest against it. The British Government was surprised at the strength of the opposition, apparently not having realized exactly what the agreement meant to the country. It immediately cancelled the agreement, at the same time telling the representatives of the Newfoundland Government that none of the rights enjoyed by the colony would be changed without its consent. This very important declaration was often quoted in the future history of the country as Newfoundland's Magna Carta. This closed an incident which threatened to make matters even worse than they had been, and they had been bad enough.

Injustice. Although Newfoundland was never again to suffer naval or military attack, it was to suffer for many years from the effects of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 and subsequent treaties. The French continued to claim that they, and they only, had the right to fish on the French Shore, and that the English settlers had no rights at all, not even to occupy any land within half a mile of the shore

The Story of Newfoundland

for the purpose of agriculture or mining, or for any other purpose. The settlers, on the other hand, claimed that they had equal rights with the French, and although in this they were upheld by successive British governments, no efficient measures were taken to protect them. Certainly British naval vessels were sent every season to the coast to "protect" the fisheries, but the "protection" given was farcical. The instructions given to the commanders seemed to be, "Protect the English settlers as far as you can, but do not do anything to offend the French; in other words, keep the peace with the French at any cost." French naval vessels were also present, and the French officers were allowed to do very much as they liked. If a Frenchman removed or damaged a boat belonging to a British subject, the latter might complain to the British officer, who could do nothing to obtain redress except report the matter to the British Government. The British Government in turn would pass the claim to the French Government, and there the matter rested, for the French Government never admitted a claim. So the poor colonist was helpless. On the other hand, if a Frenchman had a claim against a British subject, the French officer took it upon himself to act as both judge and policeman; for example, if a British boat put into a harbour on the west coast perhaps only for shelter, the French officer might compel the boat to leave the port. Even worse than this, a British officer, on receiving a complaint from a French officer, would force the British settler to remove buildings which had been erected in connection with the fishery.

It is hard to believe that this state of affairs was permitted to continue. It is one of the instances where Britain

The French in Newfoundland

did not take a firm stand. Apparently she did not want to offend France, although by taking this attitude she caused grave injustice to her own subjects. For many years the settlers on the French Shore, while nominally under British rule, had no rights at all except what the French granted them. They could not build a house or make a road without French permission. There were no courts of justice and no police, they received no share of public money, and every simple act was regarded as a breach of the Treaty; indeed, it was doubtful if they could really be regarded as British subjects.

In spite of all this the resident population increased; and the more it increased, the more numerous became the clashes between the fishermen of the two nations. The height of absurdity was reached when the British Government forbade the building of the railway across the country because the terminus at St. George's Bay was on the French Shore and might possibly offend the French, even though no Frenchman fished at that particular point and probably never would. One of the reasons given by the French against the construction of a railway was that the screeching of the locomotives would frighten away the fish. Thus the construction of the railway was postponed twenty years.

Lobsters. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there arose another cause for quarrelling between the two nations. The lobster-canning industry began on the west coast about the year 1880, and the first factory was erected about two years later. The cause of the trouble may be shown by relating a typical incident. In 1883 there were

The Story of Newfoundland

no houses or buildings of any kind at Port Saunders, and neither British nor French fishermen had been in the habit of fishing or drying fish there for many years. In that year two men built a lobster factory and carried on the industry for four years without any protest from the French. Without warning of any kind a French warship visited Port Saunders and destroyed traps and buoys. Immediately following this wanton act the British naval officer intimated to the owners of the factory, that as a French ship was to use Port Saunders the following year, they would carry on their factory at great risk to themselves, and that the setting of lobster trawls would interfere with the fishing of the French. This was repeated the next year, and when, in spite of this, traps were set, they were destroyed by a French warship. Against this highhanded action there was no redress; complaints made to the British Government received no support.

On another occasion a partly erected factory at Hauling Point had to be taken down at the instance of the French naval officer backed by the British officer; as soon as it had been demolished, another was erected by the French on the same site. The British factory would not have interfered with the French fishery, because no Frenchman had previously used this particular harbour; and besides, the former treaties did not cover the case of lobster fishery, although the French claimed that they did.

Newfoundland Protests. Such incidents became so frequent that indignation was aroused in Newfoundland, and protests were sent to England. The British and the French governments, however, could not come to any agreement.

The French in Newfoundland

The French claimed that they, and no others, had the right to use the west coast for fishing purposes, whereas the British denied that claim. But what the people of Newfoundland could not understand was that the British Government did nothing to stop the French from enforcing their claim; indeed, they even seemed to take the French side in every dispute.

A climax was reached in 1890 when news was received in St. John's that the two governments had made a temporary agreement which stated that no new factories would be built without the permission of the two naval officers on the spot, and that, when such permission was given, men of the other country would be free to build a factory on some other suitable site. When this agreement was made known to the Newfoundland Government, it protested very strongly on two grounds: first, that it should have been consulted before the agreement was made; and secondly, that the agreement gave to the French the right to erect factories, which was contrary to the position that the British Government itself had previously taken. The people of the west coast were to be put in the extraordinary position of being ruled not by the government of the colony but by two naval commanders. Great indignation was felt throughout the country, and protest meetings were held in many places.

Bait. The persistence of the French in this matter was not unconnected with another subject, that of bait. In the years following 1880 the Newfoundland export of fish began to decline. The United States had placed a large import duty on foreign fish. The French had entirely pro-

The Story of Newfoundland

hibited the importation of foreign fish; at the same time they gave a large bounty on fish caught by their own people, so that they were able to sell their fish in all markets at a lower price than Newfoundlanders could.

In retaliation for this the Newfoundland Government passed an Act prohibiting the sale of bait to foreigners. After much delay and hesitation and with great reluctance arising out of the British Government's fear of offending the French, the Bait Act was brought into effect with immediate beneficial results to the Newfoundland fishery. The French now had to go to the north coast for bait; and because of ice conditions there, they could not get it as early in the year as before, so that their Bank fishery was considerably delayed. One of the reasons for their being so insistent in their claims in connection with the lobster fishery was that they hoped to establish themselves on those parts of the coast which would ensure a supply of bait.

Extraordinary French Claims. The dispute dragged on, and every year there were quarrels and violence. British bluejackets tore down wharves belonging to settlers because French fishermen objected to them; the colonists were forced to leave the best fishing grounds because French fishermen wanted them; fishing gear was liable to be destroyed by French rivals; the French claimed the right to catch salmon in the rivers because they claimed the ownership of the land for half a mile above high-water mark. The French became more and more aggressive, the Newfoundland Government continued to protest, the British Government continued to take the line of least

The French in Newfoundland

resistance, trying to please the French at the expense of British subjects in Newfoundland. The position was most unsatisfactory; it was intolerable. It really meant that the French claimed the west coast as a French possession.

At last, in 1899, it looked as if the British Government was roused to action. It sent out a Royal Commission to enquire into the whole matter. Hundreds of settlers gave evidence of the persecution and loss of property they had suffered at the hands of the French. The Report of the Commission disclosed such an amazing state of affairs in a British country that the government dared not publish it, fearing that it would arouse indignation in England among its own supporters.

A Settlement at Last. About this time the cod-fishery on the west coast began to decline. In the twenty years before 1903 the amount of fish caught by the French had gradually decreased till it was only about one tenth of what it had been formerly. They would probably have abandoned the cod-fishery altogether but for the increasing value of the lobster industry. Now the question of withdrawing began to be discussed by French statesmen. Since the Newfoundland Government had prohibited the selling of bait to foreigners, the French had been severely handicapped, and the constant quarrelling began to annoy even the French in spite of the fact that they usually came out of it well. In order to compete with the Newfoundlanders in the European markets they had given the French fishermen a bounty, and this was proving a costly affair.

It was not till 1904 that the whole question was finally settled. By an agreement between the British and French

The Story of Newfoundland

governments the latter abandoned all its claims in Newfoundland in exchange for some territory in Africa and, in addition, a sum of \$275,000 as compensation for the French fishermen who were dispossessed. Thus at last this source of irritation was removed, and now all that remains to remind us of the French occupation of the west coast is a few settlers of French descent who still speak a French dialect and who quietly pursue their fishing, not molesting anyone and being themselves unmolested.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why did the French want to settle in Newfoundland?
2. What advantages had Placentia as the French capital?
3. What privileges did the French receive in Newfoundland by the Treaty of Utrecht?
4. What did the French gain by the Treaty of Paris?
5. Why may the Treaty of Versailles be described as a base surrender to the French?
6. Describe the last French invasion of Newfoundland.
7. Describe the living conditions on the west coast during the nineteenth century.
8. What effect had the Bait Act on the Newfoundland fishery?
9. When and why did the French abandon all their claims in Newfoundland?

CHAPTER NINE

Newfoundland and America

Trade with New England. Ten years after John Guy established the first official settlement at Cupids, the Pilgrim Fathers founded the first British colony on the American continent. It has been said that it was not really the desire for religious freedom that took the Pilgrim Fathers to America, but rather the prospect of good fishing and good trade. There is a story told of an interview that the Puritans had with James I asking his consent to their going to America. "What profit might arise?" asked the King, to which the answer was "Fishing." Whereupon James replied: "'Tis an honest trade; 'twas the Apostles' own calling." Certain it is that fishing was the chief industry of the early New Englanders.

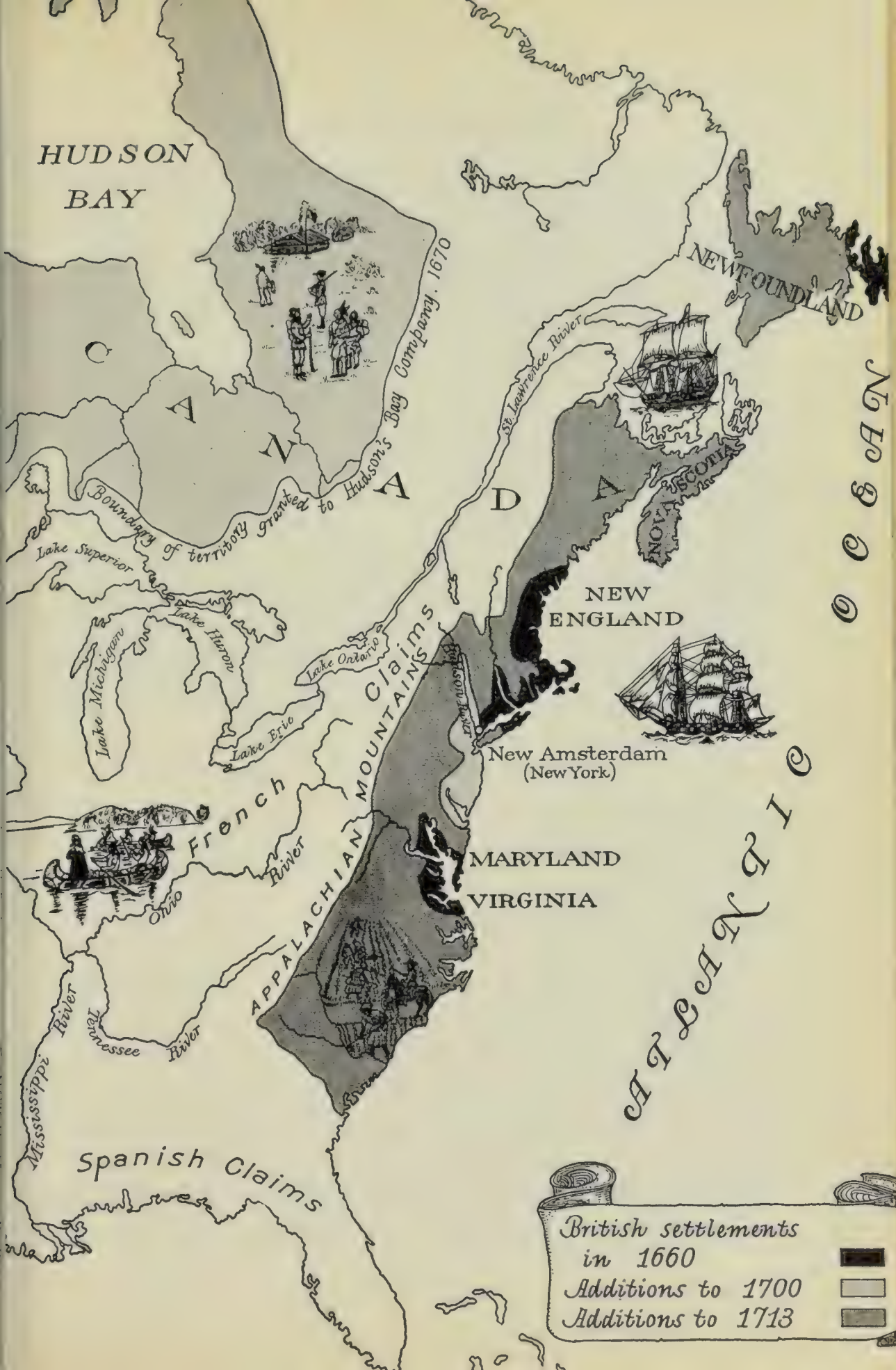
With no restrictions on settlement the New England colony grew, and with wise rulers and a prosperous fishery it flourished. Soon a profitable trade began with the West Indies, to which fish was exported, and with Newfoundland, to which rum and the produce of the land were sent. By the middle of the seventeenth century there was a regular trade between Newfoundland and New England, ships visiting Newfoundland every year to barter corn and cattle for fish and oil. The New Englanders also began to entice men to leave Newfoundland and enter their service. Many did not require much persuasion; they accepted their passage to America and in return bound them-

The Story of Newfoundland

selves to work for their masters for a certain number of years practically as slaves. It is said that as many as five hundred men were taken from Conception Bay in one year. Sometimes in order to escape the notice of naval officers who were on the lookout for this traffic, the men were hidden in casks and shipped as cargo.

The trade between the two colonies, which was carried on secretly for the most part, grew to quite large dimensions. It was secret because it hurt the trade with England, which was the reason why naval ships tried to stop the trade in goods as well as in men. It was also mainly a barter trade, because the Newfoundland settlers had little money; fish and furs were exchanged for cattle, corn, lumber, lime, salt beef, and salt pork. As a result of this trade a friendship sprang up between the two sets of colonists, and on occasion the New Englanders assisted the Newfoundlanders in their struggle with the merchants. The friendship was a peculiar one in that the rough fishermen, who, as we are told, were "ungodly men and swearers," were so unlike the Puritans of New England; but they were good sailors and good fishermen, and that was the kind of man required in the American colonies.

In the late sixteenth century the trade between New England and Newfoundland increased, and this, together with the importation of certain goods from Ireland, entirely ruined the trade with England. The British Government put duties on imported American products, such as molasses, rum, cotton, beef, and pork. But the wily traders sought means of continuing their trade without the payment of duties; in other words, they resorted to smuggling. When governors were appointed to Newfoundland, their



HUDSON
BAY

NEWFOUNDLAND

NEW
ENGLAND

New Amsterdam
(New York)

MARYLAND
VIRGINIA

Spanish Claims

British settlements
in 1660
Additions to 1700
Additions to 1713

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The Story of Newfoundland



*The Harbour at Boston, Massachusetts, in the Days When
New England Was a British Possession¹*

instructions included the prevention of smuggling. The customs officers had power to seize ships engaged in illegal trade and to arrest the crews, but so expert did the New Englanders become that very seldom was any seizure made.

Results of Revolution. For many years a profitable trade was carried on, and the men of the two colonies were firm friends. This friendship, however, did not stand the strain of the events that began in the New England colonies in 1774 when the American colonists decided to seek independence from Great Britain. Not only were the Newfoundlanders out of sympathy with their brother colonists,

¹Massachusetts Historical Society.

Newfoundland and America

but they were to suffer greatly because of the new conditions in America, for one of the first actions of the new Congress was to prohibit all exports to British possessions. This was a sudden and unexpected blow to the Newfoundlanders, who had been so long used to look to America for supplies of provisions that this sudden stoppage threatened them with famine. Ships were sent in ballast to Great Britain and Ireland for supplies; but before they returned there was great suffering, and it was some years before arrangements were made to obtain regular supplies.

Meanwhile another source of trouble arose in the form of American pirate ships which raided the harbours and coves along the coast, taking away men and goods and destroying property, till British naval vessels put a stop to the raids. While this raiding lasted, it was the cause of a great deal of suffering, because the pirates stole food supplies and left the people to starve. At one period the whole of Trinity Bay was reduced almost to starvation, and about the same time Fortune, St. Lawrence, and Burin on the south coast were reported to be in desperate need of food.

By the Treaty of Versailles (1783) it was agreed that the people of the United States would continue to fish on the Banks, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at other places where they had been accustomed to fish, including the coasts of Newfoundland; but they would not be allowed to dry their fish on the island, though they might do so in Labrador. The result of this agreement was that the Americans concentrated on the Bank fishery and the Labrador fishery, leaving the Newfoundland coast, where their rights were restricted, severely alone; but so success-

The Story of Newfoundland

ful were the Americans that their competition in the foreign markets very seriously affected Newfoundland trade, and the catch of fish was reduced to about half of what it had been. The British Government, on being appealed to, gave a bounty on all fish imported into the West Indies from Newfoundland and imposed a duty on American fish. This had the desired effect.

Bermudians Arrive. The Americans, having lost their profitable trade with Newfoundland, lost also some of their trade with the West Indies, for it was to these Islands that they had sent the fish they had obtained in Newfoundland. The shrewd Americans, however, were not to be outdone. In the year 1787 there appeared on the Banks a fleet of thirty-four ships manned by natives of Bermuda. At first these black men were treated rather as a joke, and it was thought that, being accustomed to live in a warm climate, they would not be able to stand the hardships of fishing in northern waters, and, not being used to continuous and heavy toil, they would break down under the strain. To everybody's amazement they not only stood the strain well, but actually proved themselves to be better sailors and better fishermen than the Newfoundlanders. They could row from two and a half to three miles an hour in calm weather, and they so managed their vessels in a wind that they could make better progress than the white men. The story is told of an English ship that could not get out of St. John's harbour because of head-winds. Two Bermudian vessels, however, passed it, and the English ship on reaching the Banks found one of these foreign vessels with a full load of fish preparing to make for land.

Newfoundland and America

This expertness and the fact that the Bermudians were slaves, receiving no wages, greatly alarmed those engaged in the Newfoundland fishery, who saw their trade slipping from them as a result of this serious competition. It was nipped in the bud, however, by the Governor, who intimated to the Governor of Bermuda that it was illegal for his people to make use of Newfoundland harbours for curing their fish. This put a stop to the clever device of the Americans, for it was undoubtedly they who, taking advantage of the fact that Bermuda was a British possession, thought that by employing British subjects they could get round the law.

Effects of the Second American War. Although the Americans were not allowed to use the Newfoundland coasts for drying their fish, they continued to send schooners to the Banks, taking their catch home in salt bulk; but this industry never amounted to very much compared with the British fishery. In 1812 began the Second American War, which had two effects in Newfoundland. The first was that imports of food from America were cut off, and this in the first few months caused great distress, amounting almost to famine, until some relief came from Canada and from Scotland supplemented later by large imports from England. The second effect was that fishing ships in various outports were attacked by American vessels. Sometimes Newfoundland ships were captured, sometimes they captured Americans, and in the latter case there were often valuable cargoes to be divided among the crews.

There is a story told of a St. Lawrence man who captured a Banker by simply boarding her and driving the

The Story of Newfoundland

crew below deck. He was taking his prize into Harbour Breton, when a quarrel arose in the cook's galley between the cook and one of the captors. After some angry words had passed, the cook suddenly threw the contents of a frying pan into the man's face. This was the signal which had been agreed upon by the sailors. They took the Newfoundlanders by surprise, seized them, and after treating the master of the vessel very badly they threw him into the hold; he died soon after. They took their ship to Boston, where the St. Lawrence men were kept prisoners until the autumn.

With Great Britain at war with both France and America at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the times were uncertain. As is usually the case during war, prices were high, both the prices paid for foodstuffs and the prices obtained for fish. In 1814 from \$300 to \$350 for the season was a common wage for an ordinary fisherman, while a splitter received from \$450 to \$700. Much of the money seems to have been spent on rum and other spirits, for in one year 426,000 gallons were imported. This period of great prosperity was followed by three of the worst years of depression that Newfoundland has ever seen. The price of fish declined so greatly that financial disaster overtook all who were connected with the fishing industry. The surplus population which had flocked to the colony during the years of prosperity could not now be employed, and the greatest distress prevailed, particularly in St. John's and Conception Bay. People were on the verge of starvation, and in their desperation they resorted to robbery and rioting. The details of this depressing period are given in Chapter VII.



Boston, Massachusetts, about 1827¹

The Treaty of 1818. Before the conclusion of the wars with France and America the merchants of St. John's presented to the Governor a long statement on the competition between British fishermen and foreigners; and they recommended very strongly that when the time came for peace terms to be discussed, foreign fishermen should be entirely excluded from the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. No control, of course, could be exercised over the Banks because they are on the high seas, which are free to all. Unfortunately this advice was not taken in the case of the French. In the American Treaty nothing was said about fishing, and it was therefore claimed by the British that former rights had been abandoned. The Americans did not accept this view and continued to exercise what they considered to be their rights. The result was

¹State Street Trust Company, Boston.

The Story of Newfoundland

confusion and conflict, which was brought to an end by the drawing up of a new treaty in 1818.

Just as prosperity seemed to have returned to Newfoundland, the news was received of this new treaty by which Americans were to be allowed to take fish on the Newfoundland coast from Ramea westward round to Quirpon and also on the Labrador coast. They were also to be permitted to dry and cure their fish in any unsettled bays or harbours; but as soon as such bay or harbour was settled, they would have to vacate it. By this arrangement matters were made more difficult for the Newfoundlanders, because, in addition to the competition of the French on the Banks and the west coast, they were now to have competitors on other sections of the coast, including Labrador. In a year or two some four or five hundred American vessels carrying about 14,000 men visited Newfoundland waters, chiefly the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Labrador, and in addition to catching fish they carried on a trade which was largely illegal and so hurt the lawful British trade. Prices in the foreign markets also, although they had recovered from the very low levels of the depression years, were kept low by severe competition.

Decline of the American Fishery. The Americans made full use of the rights they had received, and they were even inclined sometimes to go beyond their rights, which led to disputes and conflict. The American fishery on Labrador was at its height in 1840; after that year it gradually declined, until in 1870 not a single American vessel sailed for that coast. During the years the Americans had engaged in the fishery, they had carried on a prosperous trade; all



Boston, Massachusetts, Today¹

the supplies of the residents were obtained from these traders, who paid no duties or taxes. Why the Americans gave up the fishery and this trade is doubtful; it may have been that the demand in the American markets for fish decreased or it may have been that competition had become too strong; on the other hand, it has been said that they could do better by fishing nearer home.

If only they had had the right to fish off the coast of Newfoundland, they would have been quite satisfied. An opportunity came in 1871 for them to press their claim

¹ Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc.

The Story of Newfoundland

to do this. By the Treaty of Washington it was agreed that the British North American colonies would have the right to fish on certain parts of the coast of North America, and that all produce, including fish of Canada and Newfoundland, would be admitted to America duty free. In return American fishermen would have the right to fish in Canadian and in Newfoundland waters in common with British subjects. The Newfoundland Government, through its Prime Minister, Sir William Whiteway, contended that this was not a fair exchange, because, as far as Newfoundland was concerned, no fisherman wanted to fish in American waters, and because the entry of goods to America without payment of duty would be an advantage to America rather than to Newfoundland, since it would give Americans cheaper goods. These arguments were so strong that a Commission, which met at Halifax to consider the whole question, awarded the sum of a million dollars to Newfoundland as the value of America's right to fish on certain parts of the coast for a period of twelve years. This high value placed on the shore fishery pleased the people of Newfoundland, because it gave them a good argument when they came to resist the French claims. Sir William Whiteway's conduct of the case was greatly appreciated, and resolutions of thanks to him were passed by both the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council.

When the Treaty lapsed, disputes arose with American fishermen who were accused of poaching in Newfoundland waters. Arrangements were made for a new treaty; but when the matter was almost settled, the United States Government rejected it. The United States did agree, however, that American fishing vessels should pay \$1.50 per

Newfoundland and America

ton for the privilege of fishing off the coasts of Canada and Newfoundland. It was not until 1912 that complete agreement was reached by which Newfoundland was granted absolute mastery in her own waters. This was accepted by the United States, and since then there has been no dispute.

It took four centuries to settle the French question, and two and a half centuries to settle the American question. Now at last Newfoundland was mistress in her own house. Why were these matters not disposed of long before? The interests of Newfoundland were neglected, and the country was made to suffer because of the supposed necessity of satisfying the French and the Americans. The story told in this chapter and that of the previous one do not make very pleasant reading, and they do not show up Great Britain in a very good light.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Describe the circumstances in which trade began between America and Newfoundland.
2. How was this trade affected by the American Revolution?
3. What was the reason for the arrival of the Bermudians in 1787?
4. What effects had the Second American War on Newfoundland (a) during the war? (b) after the war?
5. Make a time chart for this chapter.

CHAPTER TEN

Railways

The First Step. At various times during the nineteenth century proposals for the construction of a railway to run across the country had been made, but they were not taken seriously till about 1875. Most people thought that, although it might be very convenient to have such a railway, the country could not afford either to build it or to maintain it when built; it would simply be an expensive luxury. The interior of the country was thought to be more or less a barren waste; but when geologists began to survey it and to suggest that there were valuable mineral resources there, and when it was found that there was good agricultural land on the west coast and at the heads of some of the bays, public opinion about a railway began to change. It was also felt that the population was becoming too large to be supported entirely by the fisheries, and that the opening up of the interior would provide employment for a proportion of them.

It was with such considerations in mind that the government announced in 1875 that the time had come when some definite step should be taken in the direction of providing a railway. The first step was to engage a competent engineer to make a survey in order to see if there were any engineering difficulties to be overcome. He reported that the plan was quite practicable; but when the government came to examine the cost of carrying it out,

Railways

it was found that the country could not face the expense. No further action was taken for the next five years.

The First Contract. The whole question was raised again in 1880, when a government committee drew up a report which gave in some detail all the advantages that would come from a railway. The report stated that the fishery, while it was the main industry, could not be expanded indefinitely, and that the partial failures which occurred from time to time led to pauperism. The only remedy for this was the encouragement of other industries, such as mining, agriculture, and stock-raising, for which a railway was essential. The committee realized that a railway would not be a paying proposition, but they regarded it as a public service which would give returns in other directions in the well-being, comfort, and independence of the people.

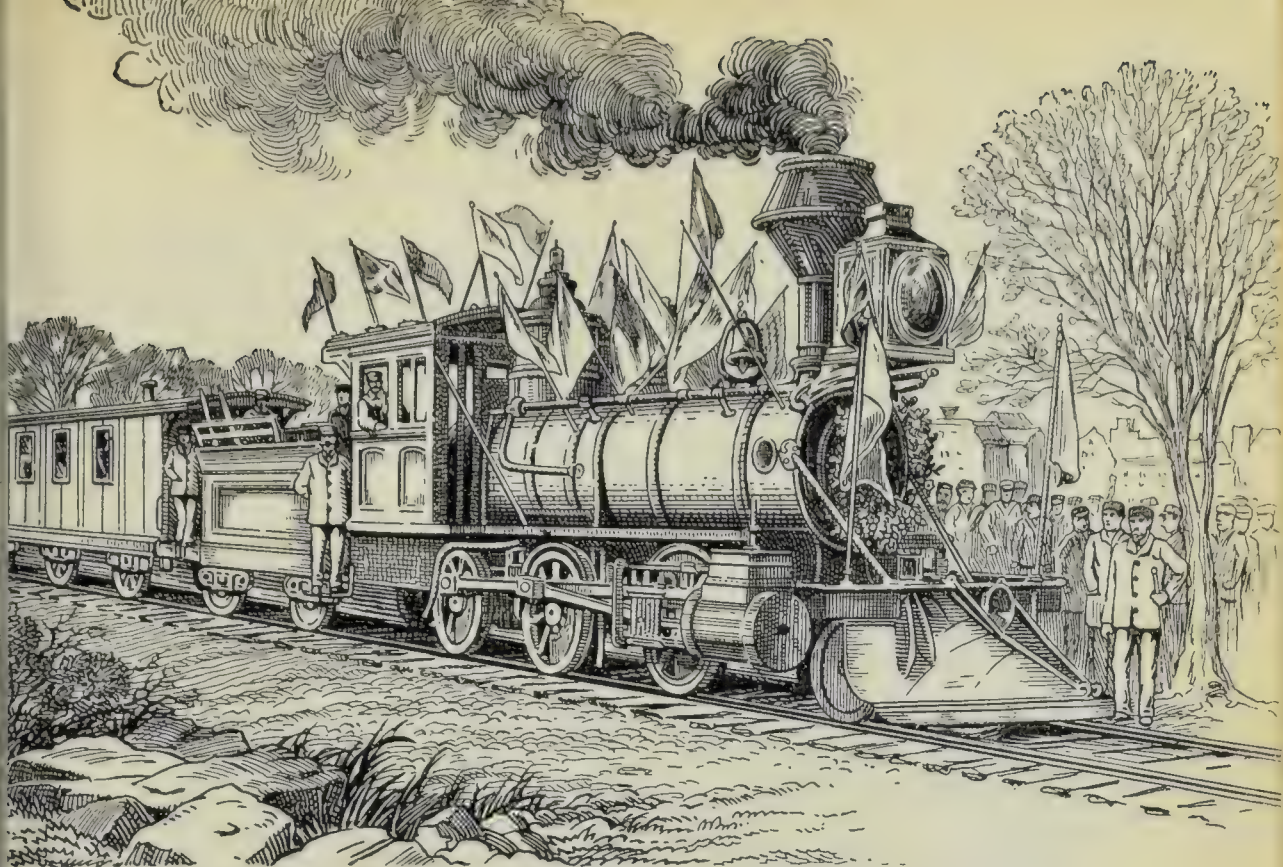
The Legislature decided to proceed with the construction of a railway from St. John's to Hall's Bay in Notre Dame Bay with branch lines to Harbour Grace and Brigus. The Prime Minister, Sir William Whiteway, was in favour of the government's undertaking the construction; but he was overruled, and the contract was awarded to the Newfoundland Railway Company. The agreement provided for the completion of the railway to Hall's Bay within five years, for the payment of a government subsidy of \$180,000 a year for thirty-five years, and for handing over to the Company five thousand acres of land for each completed mile.

Construction was actually begun in 1881, and during the part of that year when work was possible, twenty miles were graded and ten miles of rails were laid. The follow-

The Story of Newfoundland

ing year hundreds of men all along the coast were engaged in cutting sleepers, and the money paid for this and other services connected with the railway was very welcome. "It came on the whole community like the gentle rain from Heaven; its refreshing dew descended alike on the friends and opponents of the new enterprise; its rills trickled into everyone's pocket—merchant, trader, small shop-keeper, all alike experienced the good results of this large outflow of money to the railway labourers."

"The Battle of Foxtrap." As indicated in the foregoing quotation, the railway had its opponents, and as long as their opposition was reasonable, no one could possibly object; but when it stooped to unfairness, it did them little credit. The episode known as "The Battle of Foxtrap" showed the opponents at their worst. Agitators told the people on the south shore of Conception Bay that all kinds of evils would result if the railway passed through their settlements; that their land would be taken away from them, their farms and their horses would be taxed, and any man going to St. John's with a horse and cart would be taxed fifty cents. For five days during the busiest season of the year no work was done from Topsail to Indian Pond, and the whole population of that district was in a state of great excitement. A crowd of five hundred collected, armed with guns and all kinds of weapons. They stoned the engineers who were working on the roadbed, took away their instruments, and drove them from their work. They really believed that the coming of the railway meant their ruin. The arrival of the police and the arrest of the ringleader finally restored order.



The First Excursion Trip on the Newfoundland Railway¹

New Contracts. By 1884 the line was completed as far as Harbour Grace, and in 1888 an extension from White-bourne to Placentia was opened to traffic. Further progress was held up by the failure of the contractors, and it was not till 1891 that the railway was extended to Trinity and Bonavista bays. The completion of the cross-country railway to Port aux Basques was arranged for in 1893, when a new contract was made with Robert Reid, who had been responsible for the construction since the failure of the original contractors. He undertook to complete the line within three years, if he received from the government the sum of \$15,600 per mile, to maintain and work the line for a period of ten years, and to construct a system of telegraphs. In addition to the mileage payment, he was to receive five thousand acres for each mile of line laid down.

¹After Hatton and Harvey, *Newfoundland*.

The Story of Newfoundland

Before this contract could be carried out, the bank crash of 1894 took place, and the country was on the verge of financial ruin. The government, in a praiseworthy attempt to develop the country with insufficient funds, drew up another contract with the railway contractor. This contract is now famous, because there were great differences of opinion about it; it is referred to as the '98 Contract. Reid was to operate the railway for a period of fifty years, to arrange for eight coastal steamers, to purchase the dry dock, to assume responsibility for the telegraphs, and, in St. John's, to provide a street railway and pave a portion of the city. In return for all this he was to receive an additional five thousand acres per mile, a subsidy of \$42,000 a year for carrying the mails, a grant of land near Grand Lake on which coal had been discovered (provided he produced at least fifty thousand tons a year), a subsidy of \$100,000 for the coastal boats, and \$450,000 for constructing the street railway. There were other conditions, but these were the chief items.

This remarkable contract, as was pointed out by the British Government, handed over to a single individual the ownership of nearly all the Crown Lands of any value, the whole of the railways, the postal service, the telegraphs, and the coastal traffic. The Newfoundland Government gave up the means of influencing its own development and would in future have neither interest in these public services nor control over them. It created a position without parallel in the history of the government. The contractor loyally carried out his obligations. He provided good trains, and modern steamers for the coastal service; and he started several new industries,

Railways



The S.S. Westlea in the Newfoundland Railway Dry Dock

among which were wood-working and granite-quarrying to supply material for railway construction.

The contract was drawn up by the government of which Sir James Winter was Prime Minister. When he was defeated in the House of Assembly, his successor Sir Robert Bond, after being confirmed in office at a general election, made a new contract by which Reid returned some of the land granted him under the '98 Contract and gave up the ownership of the railway on receipt of compensation amounting to over \$4,000,000.

Branch Railways. In 1908 the government of which Sir Edward Morris was Prime Minister decided that some of the outports which were not on the main line should have

The Story of Newfoundland

the advantages of railway connection. The Reid Newfoundland Company (which had been formed after the 1901 Contract) was given the contract for the branches. They were to cost \$15,200 per mile and four thousand acres of land for each mile completed. In the next few years lines were constructed from Whitbourne to Heart's Content, from Shoal Harbour to Bonavista, and from St. John's to Trepassey; and the Harbour Grace line was extended to Bay de Verde. Work was also begun on branch lines to Fortune Bay in the south and to Bonne Bay in the west, but was later abandoned.

The total cost of constructing these branch railways is estimated at some \$7,000,000, and the cost of maintenance at \$160,000 a year. They never paid working expenses, and the losses incurred in their operation have proved to be a severe drain on the country, so much so that in 1932 the lines from St. John's to Trepassey and from Carbonear to Bay de Verde were taken up.

Recent Events. The construction of the railway, both main line and branches, had the effect of taking from the fishery many men who hoped to obtain regular employment, and the traffic of the railway interfered with the trade formerly carried on exclusively by the coastal steamers.

The railway system continued to be operated by the Reid Newfoundland Company till 1923, when it was taken over by the government. The Company was in financial difficulties and agreed to give up all claims for a settlement of \$2,000,000.

It is estimated that the railway cost Newfoundland, from the original survey in 1875 to 1935, \$43,000,000, which

Railways

was well over one third of the public debt. It has never been able to show a net profit, although in 1935-1936, and again during the Second World War, it was able to declare a surplus over running expenses. All surplus and a big part of the earnings were used up in buying new equipment, and in making needed improvements. The railway was much better equipped at the end of the war than it was when the war began. It rendered good service during the war years, transporting troops and material in addition to serving local needs. The Newfoundland Railway, including the coastal steamship service, is now a part of the Canadian National Railway system.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What reasons were given for the proposal to construct a railway across Newfoundland? Have these reasons proved to be sound?
2. Why did not the government itself undertake the construction?
3. What benefits came to Newfoundland during the construction of the railway?
4. Imagine that you were present at "The Battle of Foxtrap" and write an account of what you might have seen.
5. Why were some of the branch railways discontinued in 1932?

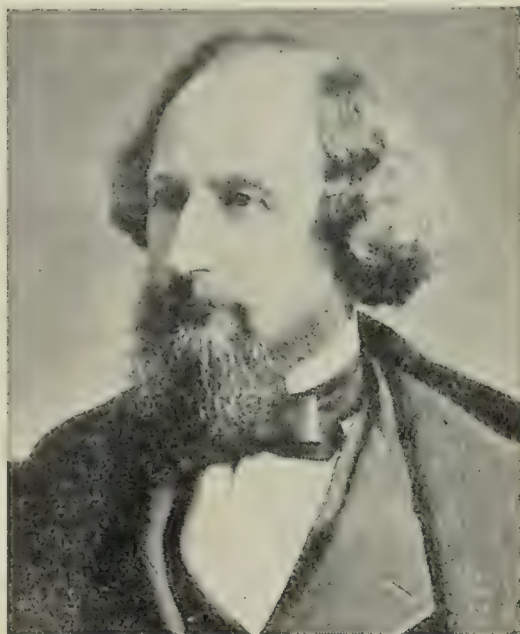
Telegraphy with and without Wires

Transatlantic News. Soon after the invention of the telegraph, countries on both sides of the Atlantic became a network of wires. The ability to send messages quickly speeded up commercial transactions, but the time taken for communication between the New World and the Old remained the same, about twelve days at that time.

One of the early suggestions for cutting down the time required for a message to cross the Atlantic was that a telegraph should be laid across Newfoundland and a submarine cable to North Sydney. In this way a message arriving by boat at St. John's would be telegraphed to New York, and the time would be reduced by about two days. This scheme was suggested in 1851 by a Canadian engineer, who received from the Newfoundland Government a grant of \$2500 toward making a survey. He constructed a line from St. John's to Carbonear. In the attempt to complete the line across country he became bankrupt, and some of his debts, including workmen's wages, were not paid. In trying to find more capital he succeeded in interesting Cyrus Field, who afterward became the moving spirit in the venture. The line across country was completed, but it was so badly strung that it was almost continually out of order. A million dollars had been spent on it and there was little to show for all the expenditure.

Telegraphy with and without Wires

A Disaster. Some years later a similar plan was carried out. A cable was laid from the American coast to Cape Race, which became a stopping place for ocean liners plying between Liverpool and New York. A newsboat met each liner, received the messages and news it carried, and cabled them to New York. During the American Civil War there was keen rivalry among the liners as to which would deliver the despatches first, and in 1863 this led to a terrible disaster. The *Anglo-Saxon*,



Cyrus Field

steaming at full speed through a fog, ran on the rocks at Chance Cove near Cape Race, and the waves soon beat her into splinters. At this point the cliffs rise sheer to a height of five hundred feet. The only way the villagers could render any assistance was by lowering one of their number over the cliff by a rope, where as a body floated past, the rescuer would clutch it and be hoisted up with his burden, living or dead. Only thirty-seven of a total of four hundred and forty-four were saved.

The First Attempt. Meanwhile Field proceeded to England, where he formed a company to attempt the huge undertaking of laying a cable from Ireland to Newfoundland. The work of preparation included a survey of the

The Story of Newfoundland

bed of the Atlantic Ocean. This survey revealed that it was a plateau and therefore an ideal surface on which to lay a cable. A report on the survey stated: "From Newfoundland to Ireland the distance between the nearest points is 1600 miles; and the bottom of the sea between the two places is a plateau, which seems to have been placed there especially for the purpose of holding the wires of a submarine telegraph, and of keeping them out of harm's way. It is neither too deep nor too shallow; yet it is so deep that the wires, but once landed, will remain for ever beyond the reach of vessels' anchors, icebergs, and drifts of any kind; and so shallow that the wires may be readily lodged upon the bottom."

Many people thought that Field was mad to attempt anything so "impracticable" as the laying of a cable sixteen hundred miles long under the ocean, but he persisted. The long cable was manufactured in 1857, and the same year the laying was begun. One end was made fast at Valentia in Ireland, and the *Agamemnon* began to steam westward paying out cable as she went. After three hundred and forty-four miles had been laid, the cable broke, and the ship had to return to port.

The following year a new plan was tried. The *Agamemnon* and the United States ship, the *Niagara*, met in mid-ocean, spliced the cable there, and one went eastward, the other westward. The strain on the cable caused it to break after one hundred and fifty miles of it had been paid out. It was re-spliced, but again it broke; this time the two ships lost each other and returned to England.

The same year another attempt was made on the same plan, and this time it was completely successful. The

Telegraphy with and without Wires

Agamemnon reached Valentia on the same day as the *Niagara* reached Bay Bulls Arm, Trinity Bay. So the first transatlantic cable was laid.

For a week no message came through, because, as it was afterward discovered, too much electrical pressure was used. On a reduction being made, it was found that messages could be sent. The first was sent to the President of the United States by Queen Victoria, who expressed the hope that this electric cable would "prove an additional link between the nations whose friendship is founded upon their common interests and reciprocal esteem." Unfortunately the high pressure put on the cable during the first week had damaged it to some extent; and after a few weeks, during which signals were weak and uncertain, it broke down completely, and all the expenditure of time and thought and money seemed to have gone for naught.

Complete Success. For seven years nothing more was done. With the ending of the American Civil War, however, Cyrus Field renewed his efforts. A new cable was manufactured, shipped on board the *Great Eastern*, and the greatest precautions were taken to ensure success. All went well until twelve hundred miles had been laid, when the cable broke and the end could not be found. This was a great disappointment, but Cyrus Field, still undaunted, formed a new company and made preparations for the following year. His persistence was rewarded, for in 1866 the *Great Eastern* steamed into Trinity Bay and arrived at Heart's Content, having successfully laid the cable. In addition to this success the broken end of the previous year's cable was found, raised to the surface, spliced, and



Landing the Transatlantic Cable from the Great Eastern at Heart's Content, Newfoundland, in 1866

the remaining portion laid. Thus in the same year two cables were made available for sending messages across the Atlantic.

Since 1866 the number of submarine cables has been increased from time to time, until now there are twenty-eight connecting Newfoundland with Europe and America. These connect with the telegraph systems of the world, and it is therefore possible to send a message to any part of the world from Newfoundland. There have also been improvements in the cables. The latest to be laid was that between Bay Roberts and the Azores, which can send messages at the rate of three thousand words a minute and can also send five different messages in each direction at the same time. The rates, too, have been greatly reduced. At first a message of twenty words cost a hundred dollars;

Telegraphy with and without Wires

now it is possible to send a twenty-five word message from New York to London for as little as seventy-five cents.

Wireless. An invention which at first appeared likely to be a serious rival to the transatlantic cables was that of wireless telegraphy. The full story is a scientific romance which we cannot relate here. It is chiefly to Marconi that the world owes commercial wireless telegraphy, although the actual discovery was made by others. After successfully transmitting messages without the use of wires over ever-increasing distances on land, he bridged the English Channel. Then he became more ambitious and wanted to span the Atlantic.

In 1901 he arrived at St. John's and set up his apparatus on Signal Hill. His aerial was suspended by means of a kite, and everything was ready on the appointed day when

The First Message Being Received by Cable across the Atlantic



The Story of Newfoundland

the letter *S* in the Morse code was to be sent out from the transmitting station at Poldhu in the south-west of England. It was a tense moment, when Marconi, with head-phones on, in the midst of a dead silence waited for the signal, hopeful of success but fearing failure. At last it came, faintly but distinctly, the letter *S* repeated a number of times. The following day the signals were heard again, and the feat of sending a message across the Atlantic without wires was accomplished. What has developed since is well-known; radio is almost a commonplace, so much so that we are likely to lose sight of the marvel of it all.

The immediate effect of this achievement was that the cable company which possessed the monopoly of cable communication in Newfoundland, fearing that this new invention would put them out of business, forbade Marconi to continue his experiments in Newfoundland. He received the order to leave when the Governor, Sir Cavenish Boyle (who, incidentally, is the author of the Newfoundland Ode), members of the government, and a number of other prominent men had assembled at the inventor's invitation to witness further tests. There was nothing to do but to dismantle his apparatus and try to find elsewhere a site from which to carry on his experiments. So passed from Newfoundland the opportunity of becoming the centre of wireless communication between the Old World and the New.

The development of radio has revolutionized wireless communication. The radio telephone and ship-to-shore communication are well known. Further examples are seen in the amazing radio devices developed during the Second World War, such as radar and loran (long range acro-

Telegraphy with and without Wires



Canadian Marconi Company

Marconi Seated before the Apparatus on Which He Received the First Communication by Wireless at St. John's, Newfoundland

nautical navigation). As a result of these discoveries sea and air travel, in which Newfoundland plays so prominent a part, have been made very much safer.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Describe the unsuccessful attempts to lay the transatlantic cable.
2. Imagine yourself on board the *Great Eastern* and describe the voyage on which the cable was successfully laid.
3. Describe the scene on Signal Hill when Marconi received the first transatlantic wireless message

CHAPTER TWELVE

Industrial Development

Copper Ore. The cod-fishery always has been and still is the chief industry of the country. While its export value is less than that of newsprint and usually slightly greater than that of minerals, yet about half of the population is directly dependent on it and a much greater number indirectly dependent on it. We have followed in Chapter V the history of the cod-fishery; we now turn our attention to these other industries.

In the year 1857 a native of St. John's was travelling in Notre Dame Bay. On arriving at Tilt Cove, at that time a little fishing village of about a dozen houses, he noticed that the cliffs showed signs of bearing copper. Seven years later he began mining operations there. In 1875 another mine was discovered a few miles away at Bett's Cove, and three years later yet another at Little Bay in the same neighbourhood. Soon Newfoundland was sixth among the copper-producing countries of the world.

By 1918, however, these mines had become unprofitable because of the low price to which copper had fallen. From time to time since then proposals have been made to re-open them, and it is possible that they will re-open soon.

Iron Ore. One day in 1893 an Englishman who was visiting St. John's happened to go on board a schooner

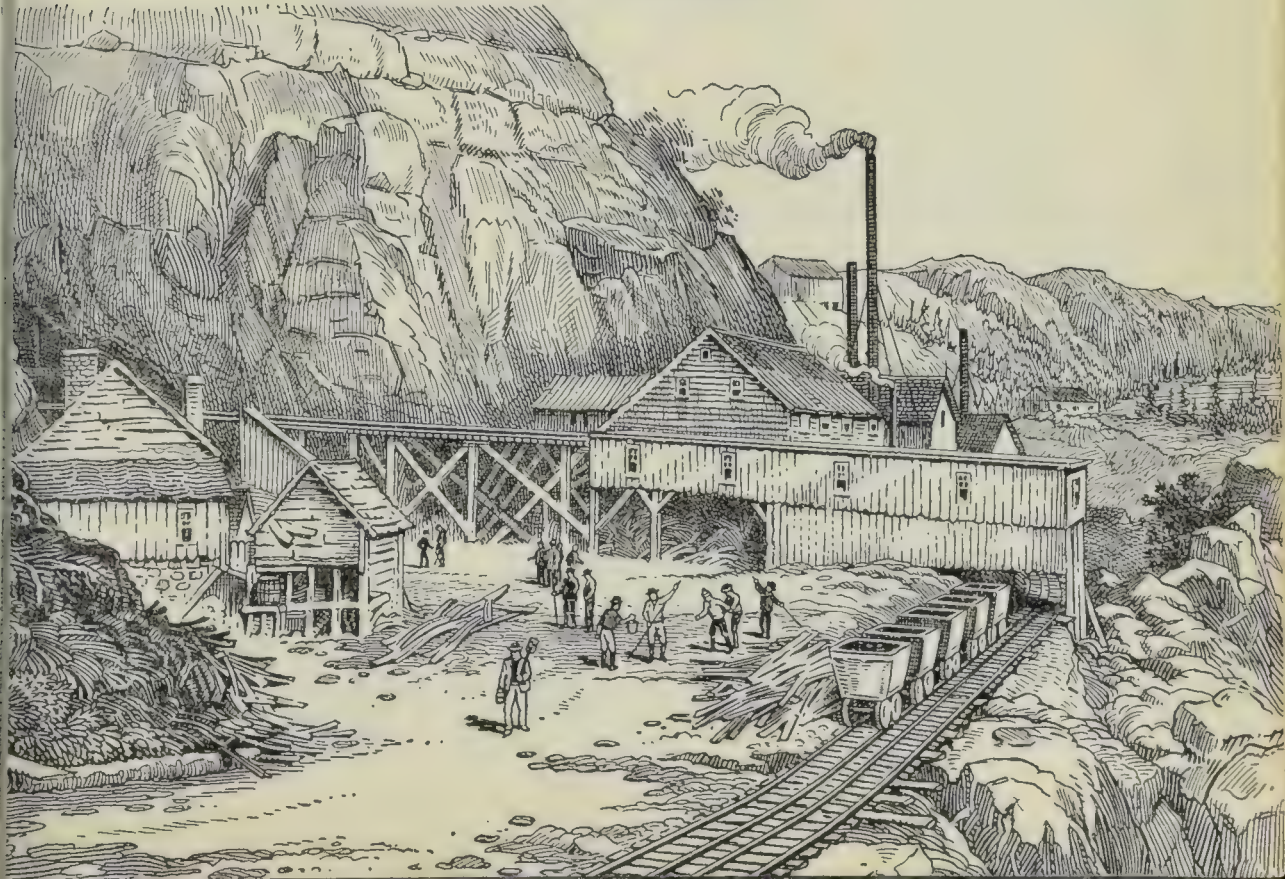
Industrial Development

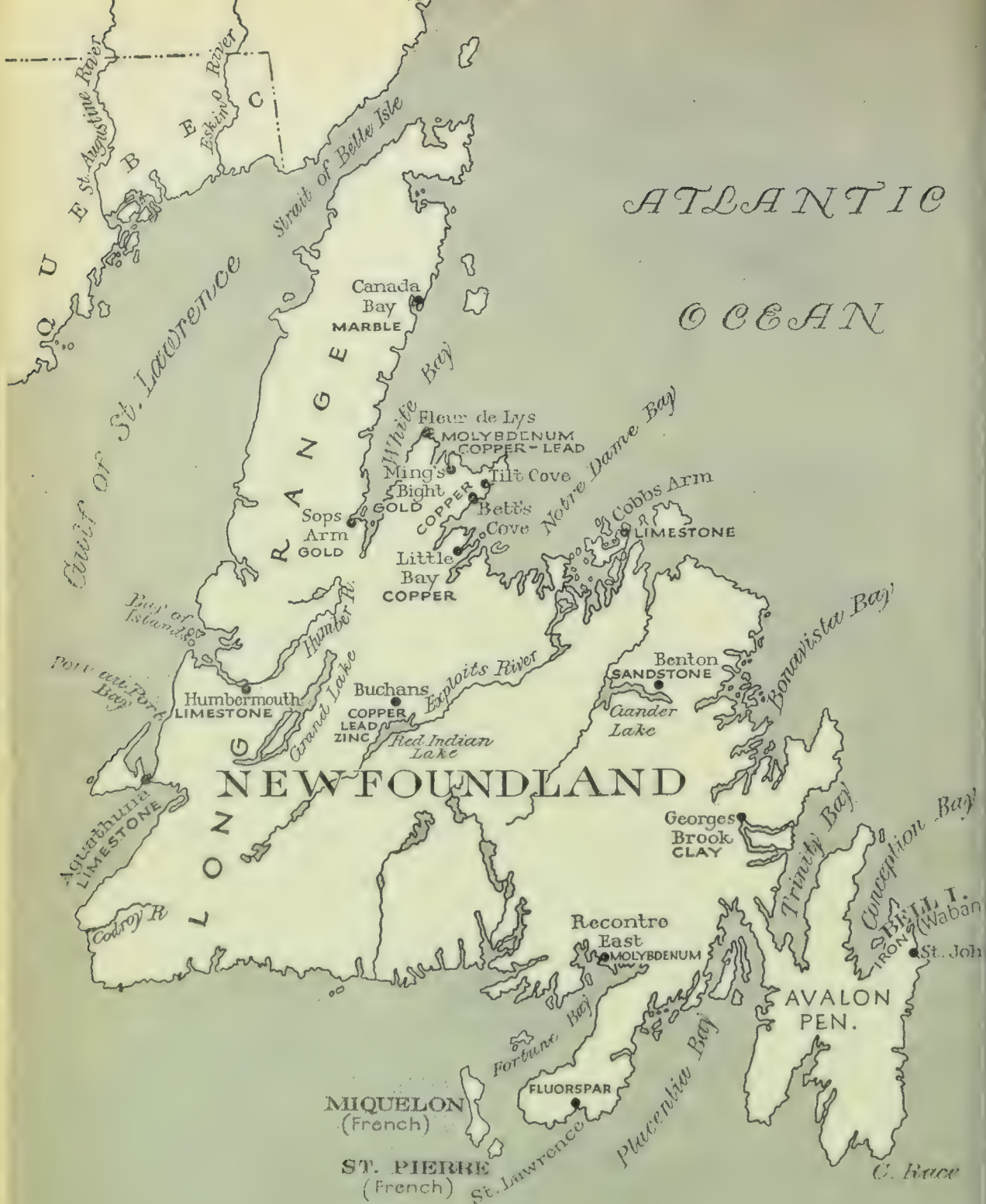
which was lying in the harbour. He noticed that the ship was in ballast, and that the rocks which were being used for ballast were reddish-brown in appearance. These rocks were particularly heavy, and fishermen from Conception Bay were in the habit of visiting Bell Island to get them because they suited their purpose very well. The visitor took a sample of the rock to England and had it analyzed. It was found to contain haematite, which is one of the ores of iron. Experts who came to examine Bell Island discovered that here was one of the richest deposits of iron ore in the world.

It is not quite correct to say that this is a recent discovery because in a book written over a hundred years ago mention is made of the presence of iron ore on Bell Island, but evidently it was thought to be of no great value.

Copper Mine at Bett's Cove

After Hatton and Harvey, *Newfoundland*





Mines and Quarries
of
Newfoundland

Industrial Development

Mining of this ore was begun in 1895, and it has gone on ever since. During this period nearly fifty million tons have been mined. The yearly amount has varied considerably because of world conditions. In 1948, 1,720,000 tons were mined; this, however, was almost twice the average yearly production. During the depression and war years the amount was much smaller. More than half the iron ore has always gone to the steel mills at Sydney, Nova Scotia, and since the war the Dominion and Great Britain have taken practically the total output. Germany, which purchased large quantities before the war, is no longer an important customer.

Labrador's Mineral Wealth. It was long suspected that Labrador contained great mineral wealth. This belief has now been confirmed by the discovery of immense bodies of iron ore in the area of the watershed which separates Quebec and Newfoundland-Labrador. Joint development is being carried on by the governments of both provinces, and Labrador may be destined to become one of the world's chief sources of iron, so essential to the steel age in which we live.

The Buchans Mine. While the paper mill at Grand Falls was being constructed, the owners of the mill began to look for a local supply of sulphur, a substance used in the manufacture of paper. They did not find what they were looking for, but they did discover a valuable deposit of ore at Buchans on Red Indian Lake. The ore contained chiefly lead and zinc, but also small quantities of copper, silver, and gold. At the time of this discovery

The Story of Newfoundland

no use could be made of it, because there was no known process by which the ores could be separated on a large scale. Later inventions, however, made it possible to do this, and mining was begun in 1927.

In 1948, 325,000 tons of concentrates, that is, partly refined ores, were exported to the United States, Belgium, France, Norway, and the United Kingdom.

Other Minerals. It is thought that there are many other minerals in various parts of the country, but so far only small deposits have been found. Small mines are operating at Fleur de Lys (molybdenum and lead), St. Lawrence (fluorspar), Canada Bay (marble), and Port au Port (limestone). There are veins of coal in the valley of the Codroy and Humber rivers and inland from St. George's Bay, but they have not yet been worked.

Paper-making. The black spruce tree, which is so abundant in Newfoundland, is one of the best kinds of timber for making paper. The first Newfoundland paper mill was completed at Grand Falls in 1909 by the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company. Logging centres at Millertown, Badger, Bishop's Falls, and Terra Nova keep the mill supplied with logs. Pulp is made at Bishop's Falls and sent by an eleven-mile pipe line to Grand Falls. The output of paper, which began at two hundred tons a day, has reached the total of seven hundred tons a day. It is exported to the United Kingdom and to North, Central, and South America.

The success attending the Grand Falls mill attracted others to Newfoundland, and in 1923 a larger mill was

Industrial Development

started at Corner Brook by the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company, representing British and Newfoundland interests. This mill began to operate in 1925 with a production of four hundred tons daily. It draws its supplies of logs from the Humber Valley area and several outlying districts, from which the logs are brought by rail and water transport.

The Corner Brook mill has steadily expanded to become one of the largest producers of newsprint in the world. By 1948 its total paper production exceeded eight hundred tons a day, and a big extension brought daily production to one thousand tons a day in 1949. The mill has changed

*Paper Mill of Bowater-Lloyds Company at Corner Brook,
Newfoundland*

Royal Canadian Air Force photograph



The Story of Newfoundland

ownership several times; in 1938 it was purchased by Bowater-Lloyds of London, England, who still operate it. Since the war most of Corner Brook's paper has been sold to the United States and South America.

The machines in both mills are driven by electrical power. At Grand Falls the fall of the Exploits River is used. At Corner Brook the power is obtained by making use of the difference of level between Grand Lake and Deer Lake, the two lakes being connected by a specially constructed canal nine miles long.

Farming. As we have seen in previous chapters, agriculture was forbidden in Newfoundland till the beginning of the last century, and although the climate is suitable for most crops that grow in temperate lands, farming was not encouraged until recent years. In the hope of making people less dependent upon the fishery the Commission of Government explored farming possibilities more extensively than had been done hitherto. Independent farming was encouraged, and farming communities were established in localities where it was felt that these experiments might be successful. These efforts to encourage individual farmers have succeeded very well in the best growing areas. In the St. Georges-Port-au-Port district alone more than three hundred such farmers are making a living solely from the land. Of the farming communities, the majority seem to be realizing the hopes of the Government.

A more recent indication of faith in the ability of the land to produce a living is to be found in the newly established farming community of Cormack in the region of the Upper Humber River. Here under the Government Civil



*Newfoundland's Gander Airport—the Half-way Stopping Point
Between America and Europe¹*

Re-establishment Programme, veterans of the Second World War, with their families, are pioneering in farming in a locality which favours the growing of crops. Their early efforts promise success. Meanwhile the Government has made further surveys in the hope that farming may be successfully carried on in other parts of the country.

Aviation. Although aviation is not really an industry, it may be mentioned here. Since the First World War the aeroplane has become a commonplace. Hundreds of

¹Courtesy of Canadian National Railways.

The Story of Newfoundland



Topical

Sir John Alcock and Sir Arthur Brown Some Weeks after Their Flight across the Atlantic in 1919

places all over the world are now connected by regular air services.

Newfoundland was the starting point of the first flight across the Atlantic Ocean; it was carried out by Sir John Alcock and Sir Arthur Brown in 1919. Since then many other transatlantic flights have been made, and most of them have either started or finished in Newfoundland. The citizens of Harbour Grace showed great public spirit

Industrial Development

in making a runway which has been a great boon to airmen.

At first, these flights were made by flying-boats from a seaplane base constructed at Botwood. When land planes replaced flying-boats for transatlantic travel, the newly-built airport at Gander became the half-way stopping point between America and Europe. During the Second World War, Air Transport Command made extensive use of Gander and Goose to ferry aircraft and personnel to Europe, and as a result of the experience gained, eight of the world's largest airlines now use Gander regularly in scheduled transatlantic flights. Nearly 12,000 scheduled and unscheduled landings were made at Gander in 1948. Newfoundland, which played so important a part in the development of transoceanic flying, occupies a most important position on the air map of the world.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What minerals are found in Newfoundland? Which of them are being mined? Why are others not mined?
2. What advantages has Newfoundland for the making of paper?
3. What benefits come to the country from mining and paper-making?
4. Why do we say that fishing is the chief industry of Newfoundland although its export value is lower than that of paper-making?
5. What benefits will come to Newfoundland from the transatlantic air service?

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Labrador

Early Voyages. The history of Labrador is to a large extent the history of Newfoundland. It begins with the voyages of the Norsemen in the year 1000, when the first land they struck on the American continent was Helluland (the land of flat stones). This land, it is generally agreed, was Labrador. Even at that early period it was said "to be entirely devoid of good qualities," an opinion which seemed to be confirmed more than five centuries later when it was said by a Spaniard that there was "nothing in it of any value." In spite of the lack of good qualities some of the Norsemen probably settled in Labrador until they were driven out by the Eskimos, because there are ruins of dwellings which are different from the houses erected by the Eskimos.

About 500 years after the Norsemen, came John Cabot, who rediscovered Newfoundland, and from 1500 to 1534 many explorers came from Europe to the new lands of the west. In nearly every case Labrador was visited as well as Newfoundland. Corte Real on his visit came across a band of Nascopie Indians, a tribe still inhabiting Labrador, some sixty of whom he captured and took to Portugal as slaves. Another explorer carried back "snares for game and needles for making nets," which had evidently been used by the natives; these must have been found in Newfoundland, for the Eskimos did not snare game or use

Labrador

nets for fishing. Still another explorer took away three men who were clothed in animal skins and who ate raw flesh; these must have been Eskimos. After the voyages of Jacques Cartier, who explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence, there is little to record about Labrador till the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The Name "Labrador." It is not altogether certain how Labrador came to receive its name. Many conjectures have been made, but the most likely explanation is that on one of the early voyages a man called Fernandez, described as a "lavrador" or "land-owner" in the Azores, was the one who first sighted land on that particular voyage of discovery. Part, therefore, of the newly discovered lands was named after him. For some time after this, it was called by the Portuguese "Terra de Lavrador."

Later Voyages. It was soon discovered that the waters off the coast of Labrador teemed with cod-fish, and early in the sixteenth century vessels from the south-west of England and from France regularly crossed the Atlantic and spent the summer fishing. For a long time it was only the southern shores of Labrador bordering the Strait of Belle Isle that were visited, and probably the eastern and northern coasts would have remained unexplored but for the many attempts made by English sailors to find a north-west passage to Asia. These attempts, spread over centuries, resulted in hardship and loss of life and ships, but also in a greater geographical knowledge of this part of the world. From the accounts of these voyages we receive fleeting glimpses of Labrador; but little effort was made

The Story of Newfoundland

to give detailed information, because it was regarded as a barren land and therefore of no good to anyone. Cartier had described it as "the land God gave to Cain."

The Hudson's Bay Company. After two or three unsuccessful voyages had been made, a famous navigator, Henry Hudson, was fitted out by some London merchants in 1610, the year of the establishment of Guy's colony at Cupids. Boldly pushing his way through the strait that now bears his name, he discovered the great inland sea which was named Hudson Bay in his honour. Here he wintered intending in the spring to continue his search for the north-west passage, but the crew mutinied and set him, his son, and some who had remained faithful to him adrift in a little boat to perish miserably.

About the middle of the seventeenth century French fur traders found their way overland to Hudson Bay. They immediately saw that a large trade could be carried on with the natives; and when their own government would not help them to form a trading company, they appealed to the King of England, Charles II. The outcome was that an English company was formed, and in 1668 an expedition was sent out. A fort was built, and during the following winter a brisk trade was carried on. This was the beginning of the great Hudson's Bay Company, which is still in existence and which all down the years has had a very successful career.

The Eskimos. The Eskimos have always been a source of interest. Living in a most inhospitable climate, they have always made the best possible use of whatever



Galloway

Eskimo Children Are Good Fishermen

When Eskimos on the seashore want fish for dinner, they cut a hole in the ice and use a hook and line

The Story of Newfoundland

nature affords. Accordingly, they used not only to eat seal meat but also to use sealskins to clothe themselves and to make their kayaks.

The name "Eskimos" was given them by the Indians as a term of contempt; it means "eaters of raw flesh." They call themselves "Innuït," meaning "men," and all foreigners they call "Kablunaet," which means "sons of dogs."

The Eskimos as a race are widely scattered, bands of them occupying the whole northern part of America from Greenland to the Behring Strait, a distance of over 5000 miles. It is remarkable, too, that throughout this extensive region the same language is spoken, the same customs prevail, and the same weapons are used. The first missionaries, who had learned the language in Greenland, were able to converse with the Labrador Eskimos with perfect understanding. One missionary went from Labrador to Alaska and was able to talk to the Eskimos in the latter country quite freely. The pronunciations of certain words differ, but the words themselves are the same. This shows that probably for thousands of years no change requiring the use of new words has taken place in their manner of life.

Apart from encounters between the Eskimos and the Norsemen about the year 1000, the first knowledge of the race obtained by Europeans was when three savages "clothed in beastes skinnes who eat raw flesh" were presented to Henry VII by Sebastian Cabot. In 1576 Fro-bisher found them at first friendly and bartered mirrors and toys for salmon and other food, but later five of his men disappeared and were never seen again. One Eskimo was



Galloway

Eskimo Woman in a Kayak

The Eskimo canoe, or kayak, is usually of sealskin and, being completely decked, is virtually unsinkable. Women are experts at paddling kayaks

captured and taken to London, where his portrait was painted. On the next voyage, hoping to find out what had become of the five men, Frobisher captured a woman and a baby. The infant was accidentally wounded in the arm, and when the ship's doctor bound it up with some healing salve, the mother tore away the bandage and licked the wound as would a dog. Other explorers had similar tales to tell; friendliness and good humour at first, suddenly changed to treacherous enmity and fierce attacks without any apparent cause. The reason may have been that they

The Story of Newfoundland

envied the white man's boats and weapons. They have been described as the "Ishmaels of North America"—their hand was against every man and every man's hand was against them.

Sir Hugh Palliser. When, at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Canada passed into the hands of the British, Labrador also became British and a large number of emigrants set out from Britain to try to find their fortune in the new country. This really marks the beginning of the settlement of Labrador, although for half a century French Canadians had occupied posts along the coast. This was not what the British Government had desired; their intention was to keep the Labrador fishery for the merchants of south-western England. Thus began a struggle, so familiar in Newfoundland, between settlers and visiting fishermen. Sir Hugh Palliser, when he became Governor of Newfoundland, tried to carry out the fishing regulations with the help of naval vessels. He built a small fort at Chateau Bay and garrisoned it with an officer and twenty men. This praiseworthy attempt to maintain order, however, failed.

Sir Hugh Palliser also issued an order forbidding all acts of cruelty to the Labrador natives and set a good example by getting on friendly terms with four or five hundred Eskimos on the occasion of a visit to the Labrador coast. There was an amusing incident during this visit. One night in a thick fog the ship's company were alarmed by a noise the kind of which they had never heard before. It came nearer and nearer and grew louder and louder. What could it be but the war-whoop of the Eskimos? The decks were cleared for action and the guns manned. The crew

Labrador

was on the alert. The enemy appeared—in the shape of a flock of loons swimming and flying about the harbour.

While Palliser was engaged in conferring with the Eskimos, some New England vessels carried out murderous raids on some of the settlements to the north, thus undoing some of his good work. This is the first mention of the presence of New England ships on the Labrador coast. Later their number grew considerably, and they carried on a very successful trade with the settlers and with the visiting fishermen. The French, too, had been frequenting this coast, and during the wars between Britain and France there were many raids on settlements, encounters between opposing warships, and acts of piracy on the high seas.

It was also during Palliser's term of office as Governor of Newfoundland that Moravian missionaries settled in Labrador and that Captain Cook made the first accurate chart of the coast. It was Palliser who introduced into Labrador the system of Fishing Admirals that had been in force in Newfoundland, and to them he gave very definite instructions regarding their treatment of the Eskimos.

In the year 1774 Labrador was transferred to the Government of Quebec, the adjoining province on the mainland. The crude rule of the Fishing Admirals came to an end. Bad as it was, it was better than no rule at all. No provision was made for any kind of government on the coast, and there was a period of the greatest disorder. The captains of British naval vessels exercised some little authority during the summer, but in winter there was no one to maintain any order or to dispense justice. This continued till 1809, when Labrador was again attached to Newfoundland.

The Story of Newfoundland

About this time the practice had already risen of vessels going north from Newfoundland in the summer and carrying their catch back to Newfoundland in the autumn to be dried there. One reason given for this was that the weather in Labrador was not suitable for curing fish, and yet the "liviers," as the settlers were called, cured fish successfully. It was about this time, too, that fears began to be entertained by some people that because of the number of vessels fishing on the Labrador coast the waters were being rapidly depleted of fish. The outcome has falsified all such forecasts.

Captain George Cartwright. The most notable of all the early settlers on the Labrador coast was Captain George Cartwright. Accompanying his brother, who was an officer on a naval vessel ordered to the Newfoundland station, he was bent on pleasure, mainly shooting. The country and the free adventurous life of the pioneer attracted him, and in 1770 he entered into a business partnership for trapping, fishing, and trading. He arrived at Cape Charles and founded a settlement. He soon became friendly with the Eskimos, too friendly with some of them, for they settled at Cape Charles and demanded food all the winter. He kept a very complete diary, from which we learn that he had on occasion to act as doctor, clergyman, and judge. As a result of his activities in the capacity of judge he often had to carry out his own sentences, which usually took the form of whipping.

In his first summer he did a brisk trade with the Eskimos, exchanging articles of little value to him for whalebone, silver-fox furs, sealskins, and the skins of other animals of

Labrador



Captain George Cartwright Trapping and Hunting in Labrador¹

little value to them to the entire satisfaction of both sides. He never had any trouble with the Eskimos during all the time he lived on the coast because he was at the same time firm and fair in all his dealings with them; he would not

¹ Rischgitz Art Studios.

The Story of Newfoundland

allow himself to be cheated, and he was always at pains to satisfy them in every barter. In the course of a rhyming letter to his brother, he says of the Eskimos:

*Of manners gentle, in their dealings just,
Their plighted promise safely you may trust.
Mind you deceive them not, for well they know
The friend sincere from the designing foe.*

Cartwright claims the merit of bringing out the good side of the Eskimo nature, and no doubt he deserves much credit for this, but Palliser's wise regulations and the arrival of the Moravian missionaries were partly responsible for the change.

With the intention of impressing the Eskimos with the importance of the English, Cartwright had the idea of taking some of them to England, and he selected two men and their wives and one little girl. The party arrived in London, and the Eskimos attracted a great deal of attention. They thought that the bridges over the River Thames were natural rocks until the joints and the marks of the chisel on the stones were pointed out to them. Cartwright took them to the top of St. Paul's Cathedral. They were astonished at everything they saw, but said that they would not dare to describe it to their friends because they would be accused of telling lies. They were rather disappointed to find that a monkey had more resemblance to an Eskimo than to an Englishman. They were alarmed when they saw in the house of a doctor a complete skeleton of a man, and they could with difficulty be persuaded that they were not to be killed and eaten and their bones preserved.

On the whole they had a good time and were certainly

Labrador

impressed, as Cartwright hoped they would be, with the greatness of England and the number of people. The time came for them to return to Labrador, and here tragedy entered; for one after another of the Eskimos contracted smallpox and died, all except one. This one, however, carried home the germ of the disease and died later.

In 1775 Cartwright decided to move farther north, and he built for himself a house in Sandwich Bay. This was the most northerly dwelling in Labrador, except that of the Moravian missionaries, and it was the beginning of the settlement now called Cartwright. He found his new location an excellent one for fishing and for game-shooting. Enormous numbers of salmon ascended the river each spring.

During the American War of Independence American ships made a number of raids on the Labrador coast, and Cartwright did not escape. Thirty-two of his men deserted, four Eskimos were captured to be made slaves, and his vessel, loaded with fish, was seized and sent to Boston. Cartwright calculated that he lost at this time \$70,000 worth of goods. About a month later he was pleasantly surprised to see his ship entering the harbour; he learned that it had been recaptured with some of his goods. The possibility of further raids occurring kept Cartwright on the alert and in a state of great anxiety; and when, two years later, his ship carrying his whole stock of fish, oil, and furs to England was captured, he was completely ruined.

Hoping to retrieve his fortunes, he set to work again and had a fairly successful season when yet another vessel with its cargo was lost. Still he did not despair and thought that when the war was over he would be able to

The Story of Newfoundland

build up his business again and pay off his creditors. One of his creditors, however, was a rival firm on the coast who accused him of fraud and who admitted that it was they who had seized his load of fish, oil, and furs. Cartwright immediately went to England and demanded the return of his property ; when this was refused, he took the case to the law courts and won it. Despite his victory he did not return to Labrador because he was so disappointed at all the setbacks he had had.

Ten years after Cartwright left Labrador, the French made an attack on the coast. After the fleet had wrought cruel havoc among the fishermen on the Banks, three ships were despatched to Labrador. A number of vessels loaded with the products of the season's fishing and trading were captured. The fort erected by Palliser was bombarded and its guns silenced. The English, after setting fire to all buildings, took to the woods. After some attempt at pursuit the French left, taking their prizes with them.

The Moravian Brethren. In 1750 John Christian Erhardt, one of the Moravian Brethren, a Christian sect in central Europe, proposed that he should go to Labrador and start a mission. This was not agreed to, but two years later Erhardt was engaged on a trading expedition to go to Labrador as an interpreter, and four others of the Brethren accompanied him at the suggestion of the firm sending the expedition. They established a settlement at a place now called Ford's Bight. The Eskimos were pleased to find a white man who could speak their own language, and good business was done. A house was erected for the four missionaries, who were left behind when the ship

Labrador

sailed. Ten days later it returned with the news that the captain, Erhardt, and five of the crew were missing, having left in a boat to trade with the Eskimos and failed to return. This led to the abandonment of the station because the four Brethren were required to man the ship; the house was left standing.

The next attempt at missionary enterprise was made in 1762 by James Haven, who obtained permission from the Moravian Church in Germany to go to Labrador and who enlisted the sympathy of the Governor, Sir Hugh Palliser. He first came into contact with the Eskimos at Quirpon, and he immediately made a good impression on them by his knowledge of their language, which he had learned in Greenland, and by his general friendliness.

The following year three more of the Brethren were brought to assist in the work of Christianizing the Eskimos. They also made warm friends of the natives. When they took their leave in the autumn, they were entreated to return, which they readily promised to do. It was five years before they fulfilled that promise. The reason for the delay was that the Moravians applied for a grant of 100,000 acres of land for each settlement that they would make on Labrador, a grant which the British Government was reluctant to give. Their reason for making this application was that they wished to have complete control over their settlements so as to be able to prevent traders from supplying the Eskimos with liquor, which would lead to quarrelling and fighting and so undo the work they were trying to do. At last their request was granted, and so began the long and successful, though quiet and hardly noticed, labour of the Moravians among the Eskimos.

The Story of Newfoundland

They selected a site now known as Nain and were received with great rejoicing by the Eskimos, especially when they knew that their white friends were going to live among them all the year round. A substantial house was built, and the Brethren began their ministrations. They had their difficulties, and progress in teaching the truths of religion to the simple minds of the Eskimos was slow; the task required all their wisdom and patience. Then, too, the Eskimos were in the habit of going north during the summer for trade, and it was impossible for the missionaries to follow them. It was soon discovered that whenever the Eskimos got away from the influence of the Brethren, they returned to their old habits and superstitions. It was therefore decided to establish other centres; one at Okak, one hundred and fifty miles north of Nain, and one at Hopedale, one hundred and fifty miles south of Nain. As the fisheries gradually advanced along the Labrador coast, traders followed them, and the Eskimos were supplied with rum and useless goods in exchange for furs. The missionaries were very bitter about the evil influence exercised by these traders but could do little to stop their activities. They laboured on in the face of many disappointments and failures, but they were encouraged by some outstanding successes.

It was to try to keep the Eskimos from coming into contact with the traders that the Moravians themselves engaged in trade. Ever since the beginning of the eighteenth century the Eskimos had traded with Europeans in the Belle Isle Strait, and they had therefore acquired a desire for European boats, weapons, food, and clothing; and if the Moravians had not supplied these goods on fair

Labrador

terms, the traders would have supplied them usually on unfair terms. The Moravians never made large profits but merely sufficient to cover expenses. Their chief aim always was, and still is, the Christianizing of the Eskimos, and in trying to do this they have lived noble and self-sacrificing lives, enduring cheerfully hardship and poverty.

Grenfell. A name well known all over the civilized world for the contribution he has made to the welfare of Labrador and northern Newfoundland is that of Sir Wilfred Grenfell.

Arriving in St. John's the day after the disastrous fire of 1892, Dr. Grenfell, as he then was, has devoted his life to his self-imposed task. Proceeding to Labrador he found the residents in dire poverty and hopeless misery as a result of long years of privation and neglect. He soon found that the margin between rough plenty and terrible distress was very slight; a poor fishing season, an accident,



*Sir Wilfred Grenfell in Winter Costume*¹

¹The Grenfell Association of America, Inc.

The Story of Newfoundland

illness, resulted in a change from independence to starvation. The medical needs of the people were supplied by a doctor who travelled up and down the coast on the mail steamer, making fortnightly trips during the summer months. In winter serious illness or accident usually resulted in death. Terrible stories are told of the sufferings endured. On one occasion a little girl crawled out of a hut on a bitterly cold day and was found by her father with both feet frostbitten. The father saw that the only way of saving the child's life was to cut off her feet and to do it at once, which he did. When navigation was opened in the spring, she was still alive, and she was restored to health by the skill of Dr. Grenfell, but at what a cost of suffering! Such were the conditions even as late as the present century; and, indeed, to some extent they still exist, although there have been improvements chiefly owing to the efforts of Dr. Grenfell.

This benefactor of Labrador first came into contact with fishermen in the North Sea as a medical missionary of the Deep Sea Mission, and he gained such a knowledge of the sea that he took his master's certificate. In addition to his qualifications as a doctor and as a seaman, he was a deeply religious and a highly courageous man, and it was this fine combination that led to his great success in Labrador. He voluntarily undertook a task involving risk and hardship in preference to the easier and more comfortable life of a city doctor, which might have been his if he had so wished.

The kind of risks he ran is shown by an incident that occurred one day when he was crossing a frozen bay with his dog team. He suddenly found himself in "sish" ice,

Labrador



*Sir Wilfred Grenfell Selecting Huskies for One of
His Hospital Dog Teams*

The scene is one of the lonely Eskimo summer houses where the huskies
are bred

that is, ice which has been ground up by the action of the sea. It would not bear his weight, yet he could not swim in it. After great effort he succeeded in getting himself and his dogs on a small pan of ice, but to his dismay he discovered that the ice was moving out of the bay. To keep from being frozen to death he killed three of his beloved dogs and wrapped himself in their skins, and so, huddled close to the other dogs, managed to survive a bitter night. In the morning he lashed together the leg bones of the dead dogs, and using this device as a pole and his shirt as a flag, he signalled at intervals in the hope that somebody's attention would be attracted. Mercifully his

The Story of Newfoundland

strange flag was seen, and he was rescued by men who, when they saw his condition and realized the danger he had been in, wept like children.

Almost from the beginning of his work Dr. Grenfell received assistance from people in Canada and the United States, where he conducted lecture tours. The money received from these and other sources enabled him in the course of years to build up a wonderful organization. Hospitals were erected at various points, the one at St. Anthony being now the headquarters; it is staffed by efficient doctors and nurses who are imbued with some of Grenfell's spirit and who are responsible for helping thousands of sick and injured people. New local industries, canning, weaving, lumbering, gardening, were begun in order to try to make the people independent. Schools and an orphanage were built. Above all, Grenfell sought to instil into the minds of the people the simple and practical truths of Christianity, himself setting a fine example of the life of a Christian gentleman. He was preacher, teacher, doctor, magistrate, and general provider, and he devoted a lifetime of hardship and self-denial to the people of Labrador and northern Newfoundland.

Recent Events. Labrador has been transferred from Canada to Newfoundland and back again several times. While it belonged to England by right of discovery, no such claim seems ever to have been made; and for nearly two centuries from its discovery it was no man's land. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the coast of Labrador was divided between France and England, but the exact division was never actually made. In 1774 Labrador was

Labrador



*Grenfell Hospital, St. Anthony, Newfoundland*¹

transferred to Quebec, but it was given back to Newfoundland in 1809. This arrangement was not satisfactory because the southern parts of Labrador were really part of Quebec. The result was that in 1825 an agreement was come to whereby that part stretching from the St. John River to Blanc Sablon was reunited to Quebec. Unfortunately this boundary was not clearly defined. This led to a long dispute which was not finally settled till 1927 when the boundary was laid down by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, which is the highest court in the British Empire.

This area of 110,000 square miles is still largely undeveloped. Half of it at least consists of valuable forests

¹The Grenfell Association of America, Inc.

The Story of Newfoundland



Labrador, an Important Part of Newfoundland

which may be used for lumbering and the making of newsprint. In 1935 a new settlement was established and named Port Hope Simpson in honour of one of the members of the Commission of Government. It is a centre for lumbering, and the lumber is exported to England, mainly in the form of pit props. Labrador also has an almost unlimited amount of water-power, which may shortly be used to generate electricity. According to a recent survey, the Grand Falls on the Hamilton River, together with other sources in the area, are capable of producing more than

Labrador

seven million horse-power, or more than three-fifths of the amount the whole of Canada at present develops. It is now known that large mineral deposits await development; definite information, based on recent extensive surveys, confirms this. This new-found mineral wealth, together with the resources of forests and fisheries, should enhance the future prosperity of Labrador.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What was the Norse name for Labrador? When did the Norsemen discover this land? What evidence is there that they probably settled there?
2. What explorers visited Labrador about the beginning of the sixteenth century?
3. How did Labrador get its name?
4. What impressions did the early explorers receive of the Eskimos?
5. Describe Sir Hugh Palliser's efforts to benefit Labrador.
6. What were the reasons for Cartwright's success in Labrador? What were the reasons for his final failure?
7. Describe the work of the Moravian missionaries in Labrador.
8. Why is Sir Wilfred Grenfell well known for his work in Labrador and Newfoundland?
9. Why is so much importance attached to Labrador's water-power?

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Self-Government

Self-government Suggested. We saw in Chapter IV that it was not till 1729 that a governor was sent to Newfoundland, and that it was nearly a century after that (1817) before a governor remained in the country all the year round. Even before this a suggestion had been made that Newfoundland might be allowed to manage its own internal affairs. In 1803 in the course of a report on conditions in Newfoundland Vice-Admiral Gambier, who was Governor at the time, recommended that some measure of self-government similar to that which had been granted to other colonies be given to Newfoundland. The British Government paid no heed to this suggestion.

Representative Government. From time to time after this, further suggestions were made for some form of local government, but it was not till 1832 that Newfoundland was granted Representative Government. This meant that she was to have a parliament or legislature of her own, which would consist of a House of Assembly, a body elected by the people, and a Legislative Council, a body appointed by the King. Laws would be made by this Legislature, but they would have to be submitted to the British Parliament and approved by it before they would come into force.

Self-Government

The first general election ever held in the country took place in the autumn of 1832, and the first Parliament met on the first day of January, 1833. Almost immediately the two branches of the Legislature disagreed. The Legislative Council said that the House of Assembly had no right to make laws involving the spending of money, and the House of Assembly said that it had; this was the chief cause of the disagreements.

The result of the second general election held in 1836 was nearly a complete change in the members elected, but there was no change in the procedure. The two Houses continued to disagree. The House of Assembly passed bills, and the Legislative Council threw them out; there was a complete deadlock.

In 1841 the British Government decided to suspend the constitution, that is, to take away from the people the form of government so recently given. The suspension lasted less than two years, and in 1843 a new plan was tried whereby the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly sat as one body. Although there were some bad features about this new arrangement, it worked very well on the whole. Often there was disagreement, and there were heated debates; but at least laws were passed, whereas under the former system little was accomplished. The Amalgamated House, as it was called, lasted for five years.

Responsible Government. After the old constitution was restored in 1848, people began to think that the time had come for Newfoundland to take full control of her own affairs. Under Representative Government the British

The Story of Newfoundland

authorities made the final decisions on most matters, and they also appointed some of the chief officials, such as the Chief Justice and the higher customs officers. This had in many cases caused differences of opinion and dissatisfaction, and an agitation arose for a Responsible Government, which would mean that Newfoundland would be in complete control of her own affairs.

To the first requests for such a change the British Government replied that the colony was too small for such a responsibility, and that it would be better to wait until it had had more experience with the existing form of government. Naturally this reply was not considered satisfactory. Each year for a number of years the House of Assembly passed a resolution in favour of a change, the newspapers gave their support, public meetings were held, and petitions were drawn up ; but each time, until 1855, the British Government refused to grant the request. After about nine years of almost continuous agitation Responsible Government was at last granted.

Representative Government had set up machinery of government modelled after the mother parliament in England, and the same general pattern was preserved by Responsible Government. However, under Responsible Government, the Legislative Council was no longer responsible to the British Parliament, since it was appointed from membership in the elected House of Assembly. Both houses were now responsible only to the people. They could legislate and enact laws, subject, of course, to the consent of the Governor.

Under Responsible Government the number of electoral districts was increased, as was also membership to the



Last Parliament under Responsible Government in Newfoundland

The Story of Newfoundland

House of Assembly. In 1933, the last year of Responsible Government, twenty-seven members, representing twenty-four districts, sat in the House of Assembly. The Legislative Council had a complement of twenty-six members, although only seventeen seats were then filled. Members of the Legislative Council held office for life, or at their own pleasure, and were permitted to use the title of "Honourable." The Cabinet was made up of ten members, four being ministers of government departments and six ministers without portfolio. These, under the leadership of the Premier or Prime Minister, made up the Executive Council, the administrative part of the government.

For the first few years of the new order of things the country enjoyed what the Colonial Secretary of the day described as "the sunshine of prosperity." The government ruled wisely and well. Successive governments carried out progressive policies of road construction and of encouragement of mining and farming. Good fishing seasons brought prosperity. The colony appeared to have taken on a new lease of life.

The progress made since Responsible Government was granted has been described in previous chapters. Among the most important events we might recall the settlement of the French Shore question and of the dispute with the United States, industrial expansion in mining and paper-making, the construction of the railway and the highroads, the introduction of coastal steamers, and the improvement of telegraph communications. As a result of these and many other events and of a normal fishery the country prospered. There were, of course, some setbacks. Poor fisheries were likely to come at any time. The fire of 1892,

Self-Government

followed two years later by the bank crash, was a serious blow. The First World War brought about unusual prosperity because fish was in great demand, and prices rose higher than ever before; but after the war prices slumped. Then about 1930 came the world-wide depression, and Newfoundland in common with the rest of the world suffered heavily. The government, although it cut down its expenditure in every direction, found that it could not make ends meet.

An appeal was made to the British Government, which granted a loan but at the same time set up an enquiry into Newfoundland's affairs. A very full enquiry was made by a Royal Commission, which recommended that Responsible Government should be suspended and that Britain should make grants to Newfoundland until she should become self-supporting again. While the people were grateful for the financial assistance, they regretted having to give up their right to govern themselves. In 1934 a Commission, consisting of three Newfoundlanders and three Englishmen with the Governor as Chairman, was appointed to govern the country.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the differences between Representative Government and Responsible Government?

2. What was the Amalgamated House? Why was it formed? Did it fulfil the purpose for which it was formed?

3. Why was Responsible Government suspended in 1934? What took its place?

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Commission of Government

The Commission of Government. The Commission of Government came into office on February 16, 1934. It divided the work of government into six departments, a Department of Natural Resources, a Department of Public Utilities, a Department of Finance, a Department of Home Affairs and Education, a Department of Justice, and a Department of Public Health and Welfare. Over each department a Commissioner presided. The Governor was appointed Chairman of the Commission.

Six Commissioners were appointed, each responsible for one of the above departments. Three of these were from the United Kingdom, and were approved by the Crown for at least a three-year period. They were responsible for the Departments of Natural Resources, Public Utilities, and Finance. The remaining three were Newfoundlanders, men in public life, appointed for the same period by the Crown on the recommendation of the Governor.

Early Attempts at Improvement. As was seen in an earlier section, the Commission of Government began its work at a most difficult time. Its first task was the complicated one of bringing order out of chaos, and of straightening out some of the financial problems, including the National Debt. Another task was to reorganize the Civil Service

The Commission of Government



A. B. Perlin

The Commission Appointed in 1934 to Govern Newfoundland

and to staff the various departments of government with capable assistants.

The Commission of Government, with the assistance of grants-in-aid from the British Government (that is, sums of money paid by Great Britain to help meet the costs of government), was obliged to continue giving out large amounts in relief. One of the Commission's earliest acts was to set up, and to encourage through field workers, local organizations which were to help the people in the different communities to make the best use of their own resources, and so to reach a measure of independence and self-respect. These efforts were attended by varying degrees of success.

Public services, including health and education, had early emphasis. District nursing services were provided

The Story of Newfoundland

and cottage hospitals, in charge of qualified doctors, were erected at points where they could best serve the needs of the people. A programme of rural reconstruction, including the building and improvement of schools, was begun. More magistrates were appointed and their duties were enlarged. A Ranger Force was set up, not only to ensure law and order, but to assist the localities in all matters affecting their welfare. A Division of Co-operation was created within the Department of Natural Resources and field workers were employed to aid and instruct any groups of people wishing to organize study clubs, credit societies, or buying clubs. Considerable development took place along co-operative lines, particularly in farming areas and fishing communities.

Attempts to encourage farming where the soil was suitable for the raising of crops met with some success. Coupled with this were several attempts at land settlement, the first of which was at Markland. Some of these settlements have now become independent farming communities. The Department of Agriculture assisted farmers in the cultivation of the soil through bulletins, radio programmes, and through the services of its district agriculturists. Stock was improved, and bonuses were paid for land cleared. Agricultural fairs, sponsored by the Government, helped to stimulate local interest in farming.

Reorganization of the Fisheries. The Commission's early efforts to give assistance to the fishery made use of various schemes such as rebates to fishermen on salt, the provision of cheaper fuel, and assistance in the construction of fishing vessels. The benefits of co-operation in the purchase of

The Commission of Government

supplies and the selling of fish were made available to fishermen.

Newfoundland Fisheries Board. In 1936 the Newfoundland Fisheries Board was established to take charge of all branches of the fishery. The Board was able to aid the salt fish industry in a number of ways. Through the standardization and inspection of fish being prepared for market, the quality of the product has been greatly improved. The setting up of a Salt Codfish Marketing Association, later the Newfoundland Associated Fish Exporters

A West Coast Agricultural Fair

Marshall Studios, Ltd.



The Story of Newfoundland

Limited (NAFEL), enabled the Board to control shipments to market, and so keep up the price of fish. It has also overcome marketing difficulties, especially in matters having to do with payment for shipments. Bait depots were built at points along the coast where supplies of frozen herring, caplin, and squid are available for use when required.

A Deep-Sea "Dragger" Takes in Its Nets

Marshall Studios, Ltd.



The Commission of Government

Times Begin to Improve. By the late thirties the world was beginning to recover from one of the worst depressions it had ever known. Although during these years more than a quarter of the people were on relief, Newfoundland did not fare any worse than many other countries; and, in spite of much poverty and little opportunity for work, the Government was able to keep the country going. The amount of help needed from the Mother Country was growing less year by year, and by 1938 less assistance was required than had been expected.

The Government would have been in a better position, and the people would have been much better off, if world conditions had been more settled. During the war between Italy and Abyssinia, Newfoundland lost one of the most important markets for salt codfish. Another good customer, Brazil, placed high duties on fish imports. To add to these setbacks, the fishery was very poor for two or three years running. The year 1938, however, brought some improvement, and Newfoundland began 1939 with brighter prospects than for some time.

The Second World War. The early years of the Second World War brought with them sudden prosperity which surpassed that of the First World War days. When it looked as though the war might spread to North America, both Canada and the United States were anxious to build up the defences of their Atlantic seaboard. Newfoundland, because of its key position, was looked upon as a necessary link in these defences.

Canada acted fast, and by June, 1940, had, with the consent of the Newfoundland Government, placed a gar-

The Story of Newfoundland

rison of soldiers in Newfoundland, and had undertaken to share with her the defence of the Island. Canada was given the right to use the airport at Gander, to build an airport for the use of her fighter planes at Torbay, near St. John's, and to erect military and naval installations in and around St. John's. She was also granted permission to maintain an important sea-plane base at Botwood and to erect fortifications in coastal areas.

In August and September of the same year, the United States and Canada agreed to share the defences of Newfoundland jointly. At the same time, the United States was granted by Britain leases for a ninety-nine-year period for the erection of military and naval bases in Newfoundland. During 1940 and 1941 the governments of both countries spent huge sums on base construction and defence. The United States built Fort Pepperel, a large military base near St. John's, Fort McAndrew, a naval and military base at Argentia, and Harmon Field, an important air base near Stephenville, on the west coast. Naval and military barracks, docks, and harbour installations were also erected in St. John's.

Both Canada and the United States brought in much of their own skilled labour, but thousands of Newfoundlanders, from skilled workmen to ordinary labourers, men and women alike, found steady employment. Some idea of what this meant to Newfoundland may be gathered from the fact that as many as 19,000 Newfoundlanders found work on these bases at one time or another. This is nearly one half the number that had been engaged in the salt-codfish industry. As a result, unemployment practically ceased.

The Commission of Government

All sections of the country gained. Workmen, eager to earn once again, flocked to work on the bases. With steady income, people quickly recovered from the misfortunes of the depression and the standard of living rose higher than it had ever been before. The circulation of money, now that everybody was earning, together with increased spending by military and naval service men, caused business to boom, and all shared in the new-found wealth. Thus it will be seen that out of the adversity of war came the large measure of prosperity that peace denied. To such an extent was Newfoundland's welfare linked with the outside world; to such an extent has it always depended upon circumstances over which it has little control.

The Battle of the Atlantic. Newfoundland will be best remembered for the part it played in the Battle of the Atlantic. While land fighting did not come to North America, the war at sea was carried to our very doors. Ships were sunk by enemy action while at anchor in Newfoundland ports. The *S.S. Caribou*, crossing from North Sydney to Port-aux-Basques, was torpedoed and sunk with the loss of many lives less than twenty miles from its home port.

The American naval base constructed at Argentia provided safe anchorage for the biggest ships of the United States fleet, one thousand miles out in the Atlantic from New York. From here, fighting ships of all descriptions, from P.T. boats to the biggest cruisers, battleships, and air-craft carriers, took up the war at sea against Hitler's submarines and surface raiders. From this base the United

The Story of Newfoundland

States Navy constantly patrolled the waters of the western Atlantic, and gave escort protection to convoys of merchantships and troop transports laden with war goods and men.

War planes from Coastal Command, based at Argentia, Torbay, Gander, and Harmon, and flying boats from bases at Botwood, droned over head, winging their way seaward to seek out and destroy lurking enemy submarines in near and distant waters. Newfoundland-based aeroplanes, we are told, took an active part in the destruction of the great German battleship *Bismarck*, hundreds of miles from the Newfoundland coast.

In and out of St. John's harbour sailed the corvettes, the destroyers, intent on their business of protecting convoy after convoy. These convoys, joined by more ships waiting in the safety of St. John's harbour to accompany them, passed close to Newfoundland's shores. Heavily laden freighters, their dark-gray hulls war-battered and torn, limped into port for temporary repairs, joining dozens of other ships moored in the harbour waiting their turn to dock.

As the war progressed and the need for war materials became more urgent, Air Transport Command flew war-planes direct from the assembly lines of Canada and the United States by way of Gander to aerodromes in England, where, at a moment's notice, they were ready for combat. Meanwhile, in order to provide a shorter route for the planes, Canada had constructed another air base at Goose Bay in Labrador, and from there, too, fighter planes were being flown by daring pilots from production lines to the scenes of war. Some of these pilots were Newfoundlanders.



The Atlantic Charter

Roosevelt and Churchill meet at Placentia Bay

The Atlantic Charter. The war changed Newfoundland from a lonely outpost of the Empire to a bastion of the North Atlantic. A land, peopled by humble fisherfolk, scarcely known to the outside world in time of peace, was destined to become, in time of war, a "Sentinel of the Atlantic," a "Gibraltar of the West." On an August day in 1941 two battleships met secretly in the sheltered waters of Placentia Bay. One was American, the other British. The American battleship had on board the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt; the British battleship bore the wartime Prime Minister of Britain, Winston Churchill. At that meeting was signed the Atlantic Charter, a famous pledge made on behalf of two great freedom-loving nations to ensure the four freedoms to which all men have a right—freedom from fear,

The Story of Newfoundland

freedom from want, freedom of religion, and freedom of speech. Newfoundland will always be proud of its connection with this great event.

Newfoundland's War Effort. When on September 4, 1939, Great Britain announced that she was at war with Germany, Newfoundland automatically found itself at war also. For the second time in its history Newfoundland was among the first to pledge assistance to the Mother Country. Response to the call for volunteers in all the services was quickly forthcoming.

The total number of Newfoundlanders serving overseas in the Royal Navy was 3,419, in the Royal Artillery 2,343, and in the Royal Air Force 713. In addition to these, some 1,150 men and 602 women served with the Canadian armed forces. At the beginning, the Newfoundland Government made it known to the Government of Great Britain that the Island would not be able to afford, because of its small means, to maintain a Newfoundland regiment overseas as in the First World War. At the same time a promise was given to make every effort to help. A Newfoundland Militia, afterwards changed to the Newfoundland Regiment, was recruited to aid in home defence. This consisted of some 1,647 men, many of whom later volunteered for service overseas. Home Guards and Coastal Patrol units were organized in different parts of the country. Newfoundland also contributed to the war effort some 3,574 volunteers who served in the Newfoundland Overseas Forestry unit. Many of these, anxious to be in the thick of the fight, later joined one or another of the services. Last, but by no means least, were the un-

The Commission of Government

known number of men who saw service in the Merchant Marine. These were the men who, in spite of enemy raiders, submarines, and magnetic mines, manned the convoys and delivered the goods that made victory possible.

We should not forget the many men and women who worked unselfishly at home to provide comforts for the boys overseas, the Women's Patriotic Association, the Men's Patriotic Association, the Red Cross, and others. Boys and girls, too, shared this privilege through the purchase of war-saving certificates.

Newfoundland has good reason to be proud of the fine account its young men and women gave of themselves in the Second World War. The splendid spirit with which they answered the call of duty and the sacrifices they so willingly made show them to have been worthy of the noble traditions of their country. Some 143 honours and awards were given to Newfoundlanders serving in the Royal Navy, the Royal Artillery, and the Royal Air Force, while a similar number received commissions in all three services. It is difficult to estimate the actual number of casualties that Newfoundland suffered. Of those serving with the Imperial Forces alone, 525 made the supreme sacrifice.

Postwar Conditions. The end of the Second World War saw Newfoundland still enjoying the general prosperity that the war brought. The stopping of base construction threw many out of work, but the maintaining of these bases continued to offer a fair amount of employment. The big majority of those who found themselves without work were able to find new employment in other fields.

The Story of Newfoundland

Business suffered a falling off in trade to some extent, owing to the departure of American and Canadian service men, but it continued brisk in comparison with prewar conditions. Dried codfish still commanded a high price and fishermen had little difficulty in selling their fish. One of the principal postwar developments was the fresh-frozen-fish industry. Very modern filleting plants were constructed in many places, and these brought fairly steady

Preparing Fresh-Frozen Haddock Fillets for Market

Marshall Studios, Ltd.



The Commission of Government

earnings to men and women employed in them. In parts of the country where the herring fishery is important, fishermen were able to sell more than they could put up, through contracts which Newfoundland received from UNNRA and its successor. The paper mills at Corner Brook and Grand Falls were in full operation during the war, and although both companies lost almost every ship they had through enemy action, pulp and paper and sulphite sales rose higher than at any time in the history of the industry. After the war both mills even improved their wartime record for output, and Corner Brook grew to become the biggest single newsprint mill in the world. The iron-ore mines at Bell Island and the copper-lead-zinc mines at Buchans continued to work at almost as high a level as during the war when metals were so urgently needed, and the demand was greater than at any time before.

Smaller industries, including saw-mills, wood-working factories, and the various manufacturing concerns and businesses in St. John's and other places shared fully in the war boom. After the war, many of these were kept busy supplying the variety of needs the war created but which were impossible to meet in wartime on account of shortages of one kind or another.

Meanwhile, those who worked in the paper mills, the loggers, the miners, and those employed in the smaller industries had constant work and continued to live as well as in the war years. On the other hand, the greater number of fishermen, and the many who had worked on war construction jobs, began to find it more difficult to meet the rising high cost of living. During 1948, moreover, there

The Story of Newfoundland

were sections of the country where the fishery was almost a complete failure and government relief had again to be given out in the places which suffered the most. Prices, which rose very high during the war, rose even higher afterwards, so that a dollar came to be worth in 1948 no more than half its prewar value. A fisherman who received \$12.00 a quintal for his fish was, because of the high price of his supplies, food, and other necessities, receiving no

A Pulpwood Boom at Hampden, White Bay

From the forests comes the pulpwood to be manufactured into newsprint
and shipped to world markets

Marshall Studios, Ltd.



The Commission of Government

more than \$5.00 or \$6.00 in prewar value. In the same way, the 80 cents per hour which the carpenter got would go no farther than the 40 cents he received at the beginning of the war.

Government. The Government, as well as industry, benefited greatly as a result of the increased wealth which the war years brought. Governments, of course, must find ways and means of getting sufficient money to provide the various services the country needs. They must plan to have as much coming in as they intend to spend in any given year. If more comes in than is spent, a government is in a good financial position and is said to have a surplus; if less comes in than is spent, the government is not making ends meet and is said to have a deficit.

The revenue (income) of the Newfoundland Government for 1929-1930, the last year before the depression, was \$11,579,214. This was close to the average revenue received yearly in normal times. The Government spent for the same year \$11,814,805, a normal amount of expenditure, thus showing a deficit of \$235,591. By 1932-1933, the year before the Commission of Government took office, the revenue had fallen to \$8,085,666. Expenditure, kept high by the demands on the Government for public relief, was \$11,553,774.

The war years changed this undesirable picture completely. During the years between 1939 and 1948 the country's revenue rose to twice and three times as much as it had been even before the depression. The revenue for the year 1947-1948 was \$40,682,214, the highest ever reached. In these unusual years a total surplus, or savings,

The Story of Newfoundland

amounting to almost \$30,000,000 was built up. In addition to this, the country's debt, which stood close to \$100,000,000 when Commission of Government began, was reduced to just over \$73,000,000. From its surplus the Government proudly found itself in a position to make a loan to Britain of \$10,000,000, free of interest, towards the cost of carrying on the war. Thus, in terms of Government receipts and expenditures, Newfoundland had reached the stage where it was once again self-supporting.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. In what ways did the Commission of Government seek to improve living conditions in Newfoundland?
2. To what extent have Newfoundland's fisheries benefited as a result of the work of the Fisheries Board?
3. How did the war affect living conditions in Newfoundland: (a) during the war years; (b) since that time?
4. Describe the part played by Newfoundland in the Battle of the Atlantic.
5. What were the Four Freedoms established by the Atlantic Charter?

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Newfoundland Joins Canada

The National Convention. The National Convention met in September, 1946, under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Fox. The Convention was made up of forty-five members, representing the twenty-five electoral districts into which the country had been divided. The duties of the National Convention were set forth in its terms of reference as “. . . to consider and discuss . . . the changes that have taken place in the financial and economic situation of the Island since 1934 . . . to examine the position of the country, and to make recommendations to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as to possible forms of future government to be put before the people at a national referendum.”

The National Convention had two main problems to consider. These were closely connected. The first was to examine the country's economic, financial, and social position, in order to determine to what extent it could be said to be self-supporting. This work was divided up among a number of committees, including a Finance Committee, a Fisheries Committee, an Education Committee, and so forth. Each of these committees, after making careful study of all the factors, was required to report back to the Convention. The committees' reports then became a subject for debate by members of the Convention as a whole.



Ruggles

The National Convention Which Met in September, 1946

The Story of Newfoundland

The second problem was to study the relative advantages and disadvantages of various forms of government. This created considerable controversy, since some of the members who had come to the Convention with set political leanings immediately aligned themselves with one form of government or another. Each stoutly upheld the form of government which, in his opinion, was most suitable for the country, and heated debates occurred frequently. Two points of view soon became evident. One group of members believed that only two forms of government, Commission Government and Responsible Government, should be discussed; the other group contended that all acceptable forms of government deserved consideration. Union with Canada as a possible alternative was introduced early in the proceedings. This involved a consideration of confederation, an issue which had arisen on more than one occasion in Newfoundland's past history.

After some months of study and debate, during which a tremendous amount of information was considered, the Convention set up two delegations, one to proceed to England and the other to Canada, in order to investigate the relative advantages of continuing political connections with Great Britain or of joining with Canada as a tenth province. The Convention also asked the Commission of Government whether it had the right to send a committee to Washington to inquire into the possibilities of a trade treaty with the United States. The Commission of Government explained that this would not be within the terms of reference of the Convention, but that it would be possible to send a delegation to Washington to examine the possibility of a union of governments between Newfound-

The Story of Newfoundland

land and the United States. A motion to send a delegation for that purpose was defeated. The idea of economic union with the United States later became a platform of one of the parties in favour of a return to Responsible Government.

The delegation to England was informed by the British Government that, if Newfoundland decided to retain government by commission, Britain would continue to give what financial help she could; but if Newfoundland chose to return to Responsible Government, it would have to hold itself responsible for running its affairs independent of aid from the British Treasury. The delegation to Canada was well received, and the members were able, at the end of some months, to bring back with them terms which were offered by the Canadian Government as "a fair and equitable" basis for union between the two countries.

The National Convention continued to meet, except for periods when delegations were away from the country on Convention business, until January 31, 1948. It had been in session some sixteen months. Practically all the sessions were open to the public and proceedings were broadcast. The later part of the Convention's business was taken up with study and discussion of the reports that the delegations brought back from England and from Canada. The latter report, containing the terms of union upon which Canada was prepared to enter into a discussion with Newfoundland, became a subject of prolonged debate.

Original Terms of Union. The first terms which Canada proposed for the entry of Newfoundland into confederation were generally acceptable to many but were rejected as



National Film Board

Colonial Building, St. John's

The National Convention met in this building

inadequate by others. There were a number of very important items among the terms for discussion. The benefits of all the public services provided by Canada, including family allowances, old-age pensions, benefits to war veterans and merchant seamen, and others would be extended to Newfoundland. Canada also agreed to assume Newfoundland's net public debt and to grant certain subsidies to Newfoundland as a province. Canada would pay Newfoundland a further annual sum in addition to the subsidies, and a transitional grant, \$3,500,000 a year for the

The Story of Newfoundland

first three years after union and a decreasing amount annually after that, until it would cease after the twelfth year of union. Newfoundland would be required to transfer to the Federal Government of Canada the right to all proceeds from income, corporation, and inheritance taxes. Newfoundland railway and steamship services, civil aviation, defence, and postal and telegraph services would be transferred to the Federal Government. Canada also agreed that Newfoundland, as a province, would retain her accumulated surplus, subject to certain conditions as to its use. A tax agreement, similar to those already in force between the Canadian Government and seven of the provinces, was offered. At the end of the first eight years of the transitional period the Government of Canada would undertake to set up a Royal Commission to review the financial position of Newfoundland and so determine what amount of further help, if any, might be required.

Representation of the Province of Newfoundland in the Senate and the House of Commons of Canada would be in accordance with the British North America Acts of 1867 to 1946. Under these provisions, Newfoundland would be represented by six members in the Senate and, on the basis of its present population, by seven members in the House of Commons.

At the close of the Convention a motion to place Commission of Government and Responsible Government on the referendum ballot was carried unanimously. A second motion to include Confederation was defeated by a vote of twenty-nine to sixteen. This decision was protested by a petition to the British Government, signed by a very large number of people. Since the National Convention

Newfoundland Joins Canada

had only the power to make recommendations which might or might not be accepted by the British Government, the Commonwealth Relations Office decided not to accept the Convention's recommendation about Confederation, and issued instructions to the effect that Confederation should be placed with the other two forms of government on the ballot paper.

The First Referendum. The date of the First Referendum, June 3, 1948, was set by an act of Commission of Government called the Referendum Act. For the purpose of the referendum, the country was divided into twenty-five electoral districts, including Labrador. The ballot paper appeared in this form:

1. COMMISSION OF GOVERNMENT
for a period of five years.

2. CONFEDERATION WITH CANADA.

3. RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT
as it existed in 1933.

The Referendum Act stated that if no one of these three forms of government secured a clear majority over the other two combined, the form of government receiving the lowest number of votes would be eliminated and a second referendum would be held in which only the other two forms of government would be put to the people. The vote recorded was 155,777. This was 88.36 per cent of an estimated 176,297 voters, and was one of the highest votes ever polled in Newfoundland's history. Of the votes

The Story of Newfoundland

cast Commission of Government received 22,311, Confederation with Canada 64,066, and Responsible Government 69,400. In this connection, in fairness to the Commission, it should be pointed out that the Commission of Government had carried on no campaign, as had the proponents of each of the other forms of government. However, as a result of the vote in the First Referendum, neither Confederation with Canada nor Responsible Government had secured a clear majority, and it was therefore necessary to hold a second referendum.

The Second Referendum. The date of July 22, 1948, was set for the Second Referendum by an amendment to the Referendum Act. The total number of votes cast in the Second Referendum was 149,657, some 6,000 votes less than were cast in the First Referendum. The result of the second voting was 78,323 votes in favour of Confederation and 71,334 in favour of Responsible Government, a majority of 6,989 for Confederation.

The Ottawa Delegation. As a result of this Referendum, the Canadian Government issued an invitation to the Newfoundland Government to appoint a delegation to proceed to Ottawa for further discussion of the terms of union. Accordingly, a delegation was appointed by the Governor-in-Commission. It consisted of seven men chosen from the professional and business life of the country. Under the Chairmanship of the Honourable A. J. (later Sir Albert) Walsh, Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Government and Commissioner for Justice, this delegation spent some weeks of preparation in Newfoundland, then proceeded to Ottawa early in October. Here they met

Newfoundland Joins Canada



Newton Studio

Canada and Newfoundland Sign Terms of Union

with a Cabinet Committee of the Canadian Government, headed by the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent, the newly appointed Prime Minister of Canada.

Signing the Final Terms of Union. Discussion between the Newfoundland and Canadian Delegations continued until December, when final terms for union, acceptable to both sides, were reached. The agreement, embodying the final terms, was formally signed in the historic Senate Chamber at Ottawa on December 2, 1948, marking a very important event in the history of both Canada and Newfoundland. The following members of the Canadian Delegation signed for Canada: the Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada, and the Honourable Brooke Claxton, Minister of Defence. Signing the important document for Newfoundland were: the Honourable

The Story of Newfoundland

A. J. (later Sir Albert) Walsh, Chairman of the Newfoundland Delegation and Vice-Chairman of the Newfoundland Commission of Government, Mr. F. Gordon Bradley, Mr. Joseph R. Smallwood, Mr. J. B. McEvoy, Mr. Philip Gruchy, and Mr. G. A. Winter. One member of the Newfoundland Delegation, Mr. C. A. Crosbie, abstained from signing on the grounds that he could not regard the terms of agreement as being adequate.

The inkwell used for the occasion was the historic one used at the Quebec Conference in 1864 (see page 275) by the Fathers of Confederation. The final ceremony was broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and relayed over all stations of the Newfoundland Broadcasting Corporation.

Final Terms of Union. The final terms of union were contained in a lengthy formal document and were accompanied by a memorandum prepared by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. St. Laurent. They confirmed all the benefits which the original terms had extended to Newfoundland, including the taking over of the Public Debt and the granting of the various social services which Canada enjoys. Three important concessions were gained. The transitional grant was increased, the Newfoundland Fisheries Board was retained for a five-year period, and certain adjustments were provided to ease the burden of taxation for the first year. Of these, the provision for continuing the Fisheries Board was very important, for it had been feared that the advantages gained for the salt-codfish industry by the Board might have been lost if the work of the Board had been discontinued.

Newfoundland Joins Canada

Some Attempts to Oppose Confederation. At about the same time as the last Newfoundland Delegation left for Ottawa an unofficial delegation proceeded to London in order to present to the British Parliament a petition, signed by a great many people, asking for the immediate return to Newfoundland of its Charter of Self-Government. A bill petitioning the right of Newfoundland to the return of self-government was introduced to the British House of Commons, but it was defeated by 241 to 12. Certain members of the former Legislative Council and of the last Responsible Government of Newfoundland applied to the Supreme Court of Newfoundland to issue a writ to prevent the Commission of Government from concluding union with Canada, on the grounds that such action would be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court dismissed this application. An appeal was carried to the Privy Council against this decision.

Government of the Province of Newfoundland. Now that Newfoundland is part of Canada, the system of government is as follows. Newfoundland has a House of Assembly, made up of representatives elected by 25 electoral districts. There is no Legislative Council. The Governor has been replaced by a Lieutenant Governor, who is a resident of Newfoundland and is appointed on the recommendation of the Governor-General in Council. The Lieutenant Governor appoints as Premier the leader of the party which has a majority in the House of Assembly. The Premier, in turn, chooses the other members of his Government from his leading supporters in the House of Assembly. The Premier and these men form the Cabinet

The Story of Newfoundland



National Film Board

Citizens of Corner Brook Read Newspaper Headlines on Confederation

and continue to govern the province as long as they have the confidence of the majority of the members in the House of Assembly, or until a general election is held.

The History of Confederation. Newfoundland's association with Confederation dates from 1858 when the movement acquired political importance in Canada. Although not represented at the conferences held in Charlottetown

Newfoundland Joins Canada

and Halifax in 1864, Newfoundland was much interested in them. At these conferences, union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island as a unit, and also union of the Maritimes with Upper and Lower Canada, were discussed.

At the Quebec Conference, which met in October, 1864, Newfoundland was officially represented by Mr. F. B. T. Carter and Mr. Ambrose Shea, neither of whom was granted any power to commit Newfoundland to any decision taken by the conference. Both Carter and Shea, quick to see the advantages of the union of British North America and the benefits that would accrue to Newfoundland as a result, lent strong support to the movement. Negotiations were carried to the point where the actual terms (acceptable to the parties concerned) were drawn up and made known to the Newfoundland Government. However, despite the fact that New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Upper Canada, and Lower Canada united to form the Dominion of Canada following the passage of the British North America Act in 1867, Newfoundland remained outside.

Although even better terms were offered shortly after, Newfoundland still preferred to retain its political independence. Because of conditions peculiar to Newfoundland, which did not apply on the mainland, Newfoundlanders, despite the great efforts of staunch proponents of union like Governor Musgrave and Colonel Hill, refused to take the outstretched hand of Confederation. In the general election of 1869, they showed that they preferred to keep their political independence and to maintain their close relations with the Mother Country rather than to

The Story of Newfoundland

build up new ones with the mainland. The door to union was not closed, however, and the movement was revived in 1886. Later conferences at Ottawa in 1888 and at Halifax in 1892 met with no success.

The last attempt at union with Canada was made at the Ottawa Conference in 1895. Unlike previous occasions, Newfoundland was at that time at a disadvantage in bargaining for acceptable terms of union, since its financial condition was giving it considerable worry. In 1892 St. John's was partially destroyed by fire for a second time. This was followed in 1894 by a disastrous bank crash. Since one of these banks, the Union Bank, was the bank through which the Government did its business, the country's credit was seriously affected. Although Newfoundland was well represented by such men as Bond, Morris, Emerson, and Horwood, little sympathy for its plight could be found in England or in Canada, and the terms offered by Canada at the Ottawa Conference were such that Newfoundland was not in a position to accept them. It was during this dark period that Sir Robert Bond, of revered memory, pledged his personal fortune to obtain sufficient credit to keep the country from bankruptcy. The bitter disappointment which followed the failure of the Ottawa Conference had not a little to do with Newfoundland's lack of enthusiasm for Confederation for many years after that unfortunate episode.

In the years between, Newfoundland went its own way. Meanwhile the experiences of two world wars, during which Newfoundlanders shared with Canadians the common defence of Empire and homeland, strengthened the ties between the two countries. Trade connections grew

Newfoundland Joins Canada

until Newfoundland's trade with Canada exceeded that with any other country. Newfoundland's destiny came to be increasingly bound up with that of Canada.

So, at last, Newfoundland accepted Confederation. Let us see that we live up to the great heritage that is ours, and, true to our finest traditions, may we bring to our broader citizenship such qualities as are worthy of us.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Write an account of the work of the National Convention.
2. What were the results of the First Referendum? of the Second Referendum?
3. Write a brief summary of the terms of union between Canada and Newfoundland.
4. Describe Newfoundland's system of provincial government.
5. Write an account of the history of Confederation in Newfoundland.

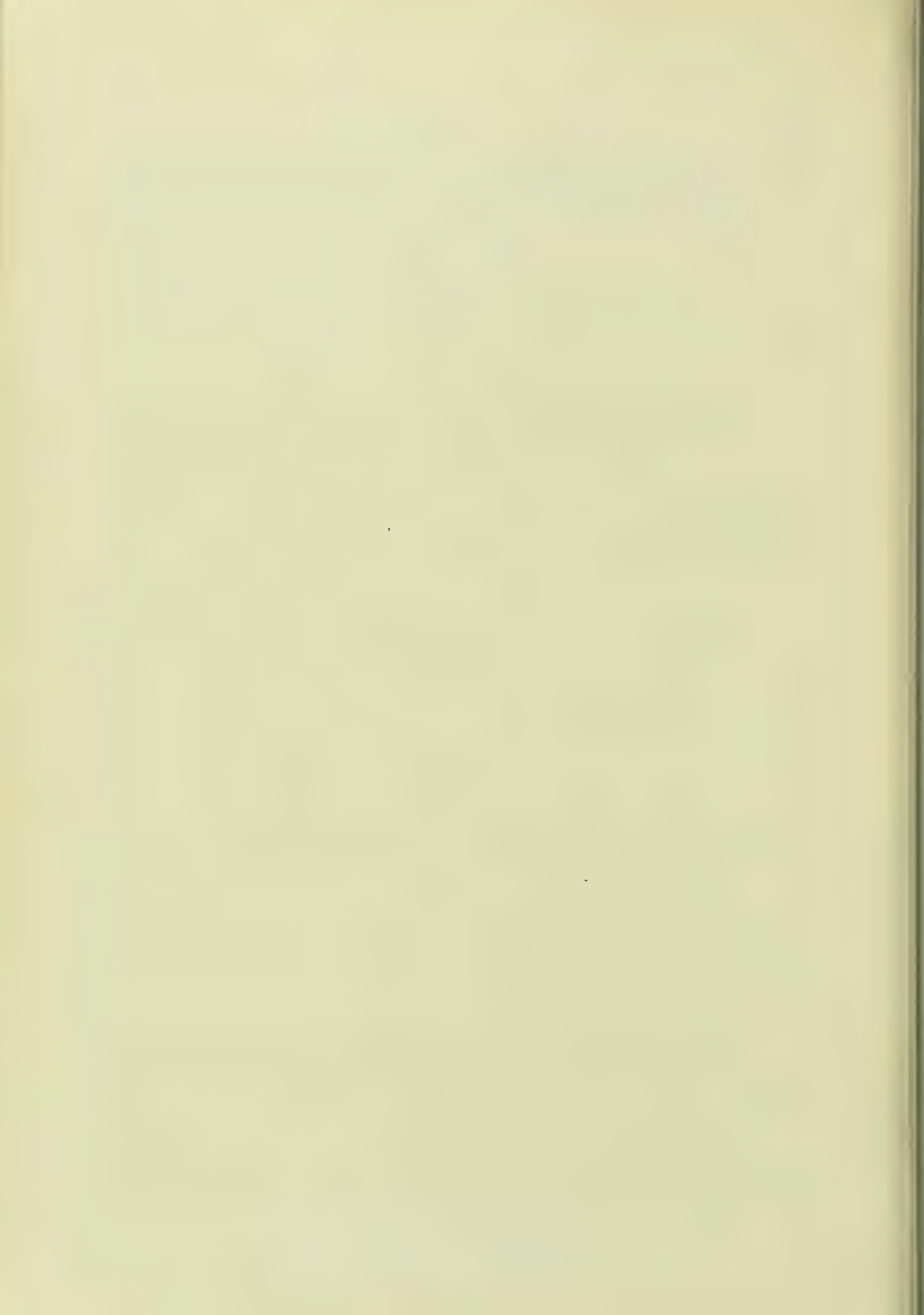
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	GOVERNMENT	EVENTS	MEN
CENTURY OF VISITING FISHERMEN	1500	Discovery	John Cabot
			Corté Real
			Cartier
		Annexation	Gilbert
	1600		
CENTURY OF ILLEGAL SETTLEMENT		Colonization	Guy Mason Whitbourne Baltimore Kirke
		Star Chamber rules	
		Placentia founded	
		St. John's captured	
	1700		
RECOGNITION AS A COLONY		Treaty of Utrecht	
		First Governor	Captain Osborne
		Moravians	
		Treaty of Paris	Palliser Captain Cook Cartwright
		Treaty of Versailles	
		Mutiny at St. John's	Bishop O'Donnel
	1800		
CENTURY OF STABLE GOVERNMENT		First schools Fires Famine Death of Shanawdithit	David Buchan Sir T. Cochrane
		REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT	
		'46 fire Copper discovered First Atlantic cable	
		Railway begun	
		'92 fire Bank crash	Dr. Grenfell
		Iron ore discovered	Sir Robert Bond
	1900		
MODERN PERIOD		French leave Newfoundland First paper mill First World War Buchans mine Labrador award	Marconi Alcock and Brown
		Depression	
		COMMISSION GOVERNMENT	
		PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT	



Index

- Admirals, government by Fishing, 58, 60, 64–66, 70–71, 81, 89–90
Agamemnon and laying of cable, 206
Alcock, Sir John, 220
Amalgamated House, 245
America. *See* Newfoundland and America
American fishery, decline of, 192–195
American Revolution, effects of, on Newfoundland, 186–188
American War, effects of Second, 189–190
Anglo-Saxon disaster, 205
Atlantic Charter, 259–260
Aviation, 219–221; feat of Sir John Alcock and Sir Arthur Brown in, 220; in Second World War, 258

Bait and the French fishery, 179–180
Baltimore, Lord. *See* Calvert
Bank crash, 152–153, 249, 280
“Battle of Foxtrap,” 198
Battle of the Atlantic, 257–258
Beothucks. *See* Natives of Newfoundland
Bermudians used on the Banks, 188–189
Berth money and seal hunt, 110–112
Bond, Sir Robert, 201, 280
Boulton, Chief Justice, 143
Boyle, Sir Cavendish, 210
Brown, Sir Arthur, 220
Buchan, David, attempts to befriend the natives, 12–15
Buchans mine, the, 215–216

Cables, laying of transatlantic, 205–209
Cabot, John, 28–32, 222
Cabot, Sebastian, 35
Calvert, Sir George (Lord Baltimore), establishes colony at Ferryland, 50–52
Carter, F. B. T., 279
Cartier, Jacques, 36, 37, 223
Cartwright, Captain George, in Labrador, 230–234
Cartwright, John, attempts to befriend the natives, 10–11
Channel Islanders, 24, 28, 83
Charity, 130
Coal, importation of, 129; veins of, in Newfoundland, 215
Cochrane, Sir Thomas, 142
Cod-fishery, the, 83–105; methods used, 86–88; laws, 88–89, 92; Fishing Admirals, 89–90; progress, 90–91; first settlers, 91–92; varying success, 93–94; Palliser’s Act, 95; war, 95–97; the credit system, 97–100; uncertainty, 100–103; recent years, 103–105; reorganization by Commission, 252–254; postwar conditions, 262–265
Colonization. *See* Early attempts at colonization
Columbus, Christopher, 3, 28
Commission Government, first, 60–61; 1934–1949, 250–266
Confederation, 267–281; National Convention, 267–270; First Referendum, 273–274; Second Referendum, 274; Ottawa Delegation, 274–275; signing final terms

The Story of Newfoundland

- of, 275-276; final terms of, 276;
opposition to, 277; previous dis-
cussions of, 278-280
- Conspiracy. *See* Mutiny
- Convention, National, 267-273; for-
mation of, 267; purpose of, 267;
problems of, 267-269; delegations
to Ottawa and London, 269-270;
recommendations of, 272-273
- Cook, Captain, 171, 229
- Copper ore, 212
- Cormack, W. E., 21
- Corte Real, Gaspar, voyages of, 32-
33, 35, 222; reports on fishing
opportunities, 84
- Credit system, 97-100
- Crime and punishments, 126-127
- Cromwell, policy toward Newfound-
land under, 60-61
- De Brouillon, Governor of Placentia,
162
- Defences, 255-258; Canadian, 255-
258; American, 256-258
- D'Iberville, Captain, 162
- Disaster, in seal hunt, 113-117; of
storm and famine, 128-129, 146;
of market collapse, 135-136; of
fire, 136, 138, 144, 150-151; of
disease, 146-147; financial, 152-
153; at sea, 205
- Discovery and after, 23-41; the
Vikings, 23-24, 25, 26; Channel
Islanders, 24, 28; John Cabot,
28-32; Corte Real's voyages, 32-
33, 35; Sebastian Cabot, 35;
Jacques Cartier, 36, 37; Sir Hum-
phrey Gilbert, 36, 38-41
- Duckworth, Sir Thomas, 79
- Early attempts at colonization, 42-
54; early settlers, 42; "Sea Forest
Plantation," 43-46; Captain John
Mason, 46-48; Vaughan's colony,
48, 50; Falkland's colony, 50;
Ferryland, 50-52; Sir David
Kirke, 52-54
- Erhardt, John Christian, 234
- Eric the Red, 23
- Ericson, Leif, 23, 25
- Eskimos, 3, 222, 224-228; work of
Moravian Brethren among the,
234-237
- Falkland's colony, 50
- Famine. *See* Living conditions
- Farming, 218-219, 252
- Ferryland, Sir George Calvert estab-
lishes colony at, 50-52
- Field, Cyrus, 204, 205
- Fires, 136, 138, 144, 150-151, 280
- First World War, Newfoundland in
the, 154-156
- Fisheries, first European, 83-86. *See*
also Cod-fishery
- Fishing, methods of, 86-88
- Fishing Admirals. *See* Admirals
- "Foxtrap, Battle of," 198
- French aspirations and claims, 160-
161, 180-181
- French in Newfoundland, the, 159-
182; early rivalry, 159; first clash,
160; French aspirations, 160-161;
attack on St. John's, 162-164; de-
structive raids, 164, 166, 167-169;
Treaty of Utrecht, 169-170; war
again, 170-171; Treaty of Paris,
172; Treaty of Versailles, 172-
173; last invasion, 173-174; fur-
ther disputes, 175-181; final
settlement, 181-182
- French Shore, 172; injustice and the,
175-177
- Gambier, Vice-Admiral, 79, 244
- Gander Airport, 221, 256, 258

Index

- Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 36, 38-41
 Gill, Michael, 168
 Goose Bay Airport, 221, 258
 Government, lack of good, in early days, 55-56; by Fishing Admirals, 58, 60, 64-66, 70-71, 89-90; under first commission, 60-61; under naval commanders, 66; under local parliament, 66-67; under first governor, 67-69; Representative, 143-144, 244-245; Responsible, 148-149, 244-249; Commission of, 250-266; during Second World War and after, 265-266; provincial, 277-278
 Governor, the first, 67-69; the first resident, 80-81
Great Eastern and laying of cable, 207
 Grenfell, Sir Wilfred, work of, in Labrador, 237-240
 Growth, 133-134
 Guy, John, befriends the natives, 4-7; establishes "Sea Forest Plantation," 43-46
- Halifax Commission, 194
 "Hanging judge, the," 143
 Haven, James, 235
 Helluland, 24, 222
 Hudson, Henry, 224
 Hudson's Bay Company, 224
- Indians. *See* Natives of Newfoundland
- Industrial development, 212-221; copper ore, 212; iron ore, 212-213, 215; the Buchans mine, 215-216; other minerals, 216; paper-making, 216-218; farming, 218-219; aviation, 219-221; postwar, 263
- Irish immigration to Newfoundland, 124
- Iron ore, 212-213, 215
- Justice. *See* Rough-and-ready justice
- Karlsefni, 24
 Keen, William, 70
 Kirke, Sir David, 52-54
- Labrador, 220-243 mineral wealth of, 215, 243; early voyages, 222-223; origin of name, 223; later voyages, 223-224; Hudson's Bay Company, 224; the Eskimos, 224-228; Sir Hugh Palliser, 228-229; Captain George Cartwright, 230-234; Moravian Brethren, 234-237; Sir Wilfred Grenfell, 237-240; recent events, 240-243; electric power in, 242-243
- Land cultivation, prevention of, 71; restrictions removed on, 79-80
- Leif the Lucky. *See* Ericson
- Living conditions, 120-157; pioneer days, 120-122; trouble for settlers, 123-124, 125; crime and punishments, 126-127; improvement, 127-128; disasters, 128-129, 135-139, 144-147, 150-153; a new era, 131-133; growth, 133-134; hard times, 135-139, 140, 144-147, 150-153; better times, 140, 149-150, 153; recent years, 153-157, 255-257
- Lobsters, first mention of, 89; export of, by air, 105; trouble with the French over, 177-178
- Magistrates, difficulties and conduct of, 69-70, 72-73
- Magna Carta of Newfoundland, 174-175
- March, Mary, 15-18, 19
- Marconi, Guglielmo, and wireless telegraphy, 209-211
- Markland, 24
- Mason, Captain John, 46-48

The Story of Newfoundland

- Micmacs, enemies of Beothucks, 10
- Minerals, 212-216
- Mining, 212-216
- Moravian Brethren in Labrador, 229, 234-237
- Morris, Sir Edward, 201
- Mutiny, 74-76

- National Convention. *See* Convention, National
- Natives of Newfoundland, the, 3-22; whence they came, 3-4; attempts to befriend them, 4-7, 10-15; description of them, 7-8; conflicts with them, 8, 10; Mary March, 15-18, 19; kidnappers, 18-19; Shanawdithit, 19-22
- Naval commanders, governorship transferred to, 66
- New England, trade with, 183-186
- "New Lands," 32
- Newfoundland and America, 183-195; trade with New England, 183-186; results of American Revolution, 186-188; Americans use Bermudians on the Banks, 188-189; effects of Second American War, 189-190; Treaty of 1818, 191-192; decline of American fishery, 192-195; Treaty of Washington, 194; Halifax Commission, 194; American question settled, 194-195; National Convention's interest in, 269-270
- Newfoundland Association of Fish Exporters Ltd., 104, 253-254
- Newfoundland Fisheries Board, 104, 253-254
- Newfoundland Militia, 260
- Newfoundland Railway Company, 197
- Newfoundland Regiment, 154, 260
- Newspapers, establishment of, 135
- Niagara* and laying of cable, 206
- Norsemen. *See* Vikings
- Northward movement of settlers, 125

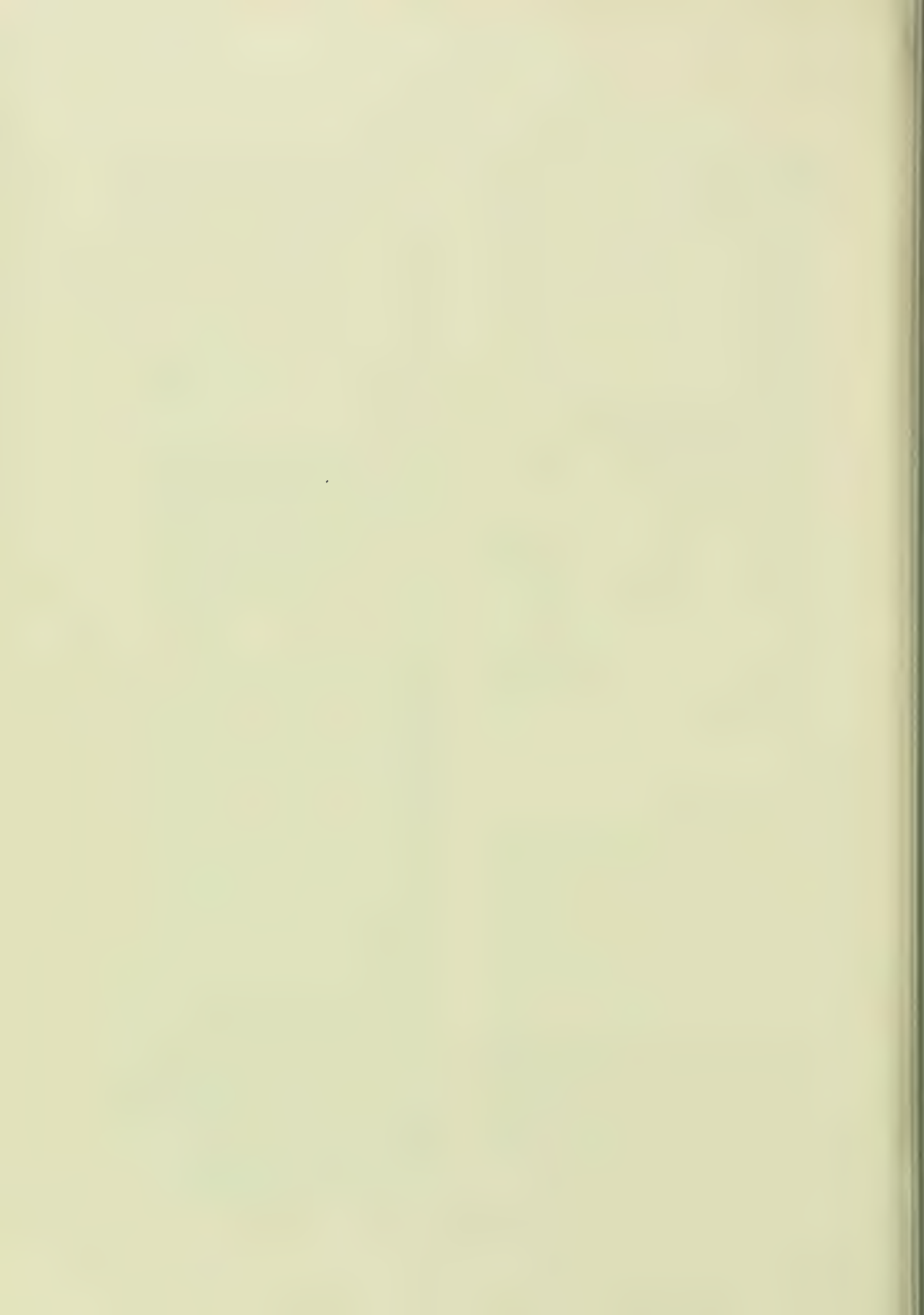
- O'Donnell, Bishop, 129-130
- Osborne, Captain Henry, 67-68
- Ottawa Conference of 1895, 280
- Ottawa Delegation, 274-275, 276

- Palliser, Sir Hugh, 94-95; and Labrador, 228-229
- Paper-making, 216-218; since Second World War, 263
- Parliament, a local, 66-67
- Peyton, John, of Twillingate, 15-16, 17
- Pickmore, Admiral, 81
- Pilgrims, 48, 183
- Pioneer days, 120-122
- Piracy, 45, 46, 47, 48, 187
- Placentia, 160, 161
- Placentia Bay, 259
- Population table, 134
- Post office, establishment of, 135
- Postwar conditions, 261-266
- Poverty. *See* Living conditions
- Progress, 130-135, 149-150
- Punishments for crime, 126-127

- Railways, 196-203; first step, 196-197; the first contract, 197-198; "Battle of Foxtrap," 198; new contracts, 199-201; branch railways, 201-202; taken over by the government, 202; during Second World War, 203; as part of Canadian National Railways, 203
- Reeves, Chief Justice, 73
- Referendum, First, 273-274; Second, 274
- Reid, Robert, 199
- Reid Newfoundland Company, 202
- Representative Government, 143-144, 244-245

Index

- Responsible Government, 148-149, 245-248
- Restrictions on settlers, 60, 61-64, 71, 76-78, 91-92; change of opinion as to, 78; end of, 79-80
- Revenue, 261-266; during depression, 265; during Second World War and after, 265-266
- Roads, 141-142
- Rough-and-ready justice, 55-81; lack of good government, 55-56; Sir Richard Whitbourne, 57-58; Star Chamber rules, 58, 60; restrictions, 60, 61-64, 76-80; first Commission Government, 60-61; Fishing Admirals, 64-66, 70-71; naval commanders, 66; local parliament, 66-67; first governor, 67-69; magistrates, 69-70, 72; prevention of land cultivation, 71; sectarianism, 73; mutiny and conspiracy, 74-76; Admiral Waldegrave, 76; first resident governor, 80-81
- Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, 174
- St. Laurent, Hon. Louis S., 275
- Schools, 130-131
- "Sea Forest Plantation," 43-46
- Seal hunt, the, 106-119; beginnings, 106-107; varying success, 107-108; introduction of steamers, 109-110; berth money, 110-112; method used, 112-113; disasters, 113-117; the return, 117-118; luck of the game, 118-119; recent years, 119
- Second World War, 157, 255-261; Newfoundland's part in, 260-261
- Sectarianism, 73-74
- Self-government in Newfoundland, 244
- Settlement. *See* Settlers
- Settlers, early, 42; restrictions on, 60, 61-64, 71, 76-78, 91-92; change of opinion as to restrictions on, 78; end of restrictions on, 79-80
- Shanawdithit, 19-22
- Shea, Ambrose, 279
- Squantum, 47-48
- Star Chamber rules, 58, 60
- Starvation. *See* Living conditions
- Steamers, in seal hunt, 109-110; early, 144, 145
- Telegraphy with and without wires, 204-211: transatlantic news, 204; a disaster, 205; first attempt at laying transatlantic cable, 205-207; complete success, 207-209; wireless, 209-211
- Terms of Union, first, 270-273; final, 276
- Thorstein, 23
- Time charts, 2, 283
- Transatlantic cables, laying of, 205-209
- Treaty, of Utrecht, 169-170; of Paris, 172; of Versailles, 172-173; of 1818, 191-192; of Washington, 194
- Treworgie, John, 61
- Vaughan's colony, 48, 50
- Vikings, discoveries of, in New World, 23-24, 25, 26, 222
- Vinland, 24
- Waldegrave, Admiral, 76
- Wallace, Sir Richard, 173-174
- Walsh, Sir Albert, 274, 276
- Water supply established in St. John's, 148
- Whitbourne, Sir Richard, 57-58
- Whiteway, Sir William, 194, 197
- Winter, Sir James, 201
- Wireless telegraphy, 209-211



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